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the breeze blowing from Niuatoputapu Island. This respectful manner of eating is assumed because Niuatoputapu is "chief" to Niuafoou: the chiefly house of Niuafoou once supplied a wife for the chief of Niuatoputapu.

It is tapu to touch the father's head or hair, to touch him while he is eating, to sleep on his bed or pillow, to partake of his food or drink, and to play with his belongings. The result of infraction, sickness and perhaps early death for the child, might however, be overcome by the father stroking the child's throat, head, or stomach; that is, the seat of the trouble that was believed to have arisen from an infraction. The tapu is weakened today. An informant of high rank who had been educated in Australia said he never touched his father's head, but that he would not hesitate to let his own son touch his.

A youth observes all the prohibitions with his father, but may take all sorts of liberties with his father's father. Thus he may wear his father's father's *vala* (garment), or eat his food. Toward the mother's father, the same license prevails. Collocott has described the privilege of eating the *fono* (relish food) which the grandchildren enjoy at the kava circle (15, p. 30).

The relation of the children to their mother is one of freedom from restraint and tapu. A Tongan explained this to me on the rationalistic basis—the child must have unrestrained access to its mother for the sake of nourishment. Towards the mother's sister the child's attitude is the same as towards the mother. The maximum of freedom, however, is found in the child's behavior towards the mother's brother and the mother's father. The child is *fahu* (above the law) to his mother's brother.

If a woman of high rank marries a commoner, their offspring treat the father and his brothers and sisters as though they were chiefs. Respect to the father and his siblings is enjoined regardless of rank, for relative to his offspring his rank is always higher, as head of the family. These same offspring of a woman of rank and of a man of commoner clay are perfectly free to act as they please toward their mother and her siblings. Towards their mother's brother they stand in the relation of *fahu*, even though their father is of inferior rank.

It is apparent that because of these relations between sex and age, no two individuals in a Tongan family are identical in rank. The situation is similar to that in the Japanese family, in which, as stated by Hearn (29, p. 80), "every person, from the youngest child up to the grandfather, was subject to somebody else."

The exactness with which members of a family are graded in rank is well shown by the following example: Two girls, Fakatoumafi and Ika, are

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Tonga), attributes the coming of part of the second Falefa to Tuitatui's reign, about 1200. It is said that Tui Talau (Tui Motuliki) and his matapule arrived at that period from Fiji. When the Tui Tonga gave Tui Motuliki his choice of residence, he selected Talau in Vavau, hence the title Tui Talau (50, pp. 140-142). If the attribution to Tuitatui's reign is true, it sets back the origin of the second Falefa about 250 years before the time given by Tungi. But this would correspond to the lapse of two or three centuries, in Havea's account, between the first and second Falefa.

After the disposition of the lineages of Matakehe, Tui Folaha, and Maliepo, described above, the second Falefa took the place of the first, with matapule who had come from Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma.

The first lineage of the second Falefa was that of Tui Loloko, which was the only lineage carried over from the first Falefa. The same matapule also functioned, although for Malupo in this second Falefa a Fijian origin is asserted, he having come with Tui Motuliki (Tui Talau).

The second lineage was that of the Tui Talau, which came from Fiji. The matapule Faingaa, Hoakai (Soakai in Fijian), and Mapu were Fijians. Faingaa's god was Kanahe. Hoakai's land allotment was at Felemea, Uiha Island, Haapai. It was bestowed by the Tui Tonga. Hoakai was the matapule who ate and smoked with the Tui Tonga; the privilege also being exercised in recent years with the Tui Kanokupolu (15, p. 41). When the first Hoakai came from Fiji and, knowing no better, sat down to eat with the Tui Tonga Tuitatui, he was permitted because he was a foreigner and his descendants continued to hold that special privilege. If a Tongan ate the Tui Tonga's food, it was thought he would be afflicted with goiter (*fua*) which only the Tui Tonga could prevent by stroking. Hoakai analyzes as *hoa* (pair) and *kai* (to eat). What was left over after the Tui Tonga and Hoakai had finished eating was given to Uhatafe to eat. The descendants of the chief Maafu Tukuiaulahi, who was of Rotuman origin, were also privileged to eat the remains of the meals of the Tui Tonga.

McKern, who saw the present Hoakai, says that he was notably different in personal appearance from the prevailing Tongan types. His lower limbs were small at the knees and his ankles in proportion to their thickness elsewhere. His waist was small in proportion to the breadth of his hips. His skin was darker than that of the relatively dark skinned Tongan. His hair was decidedly curly.

Niutoua, Tongatabu, a town in the district called Hahake, Tongatabu, where Tui Motuliki is reported to have landed, has a noticeably dark element in its population. These dark skinned people were pointed out to McKern by Tamale, of Niutoua, as the descendants of the Fijians whom Tui Motuliki brought with him to Tonga.

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At Lapaha was a priestess named (or entitled) Poula whom the Tui Tonga consulted. She resided at the site now occupied by the dwelling house of the Catholic priests. For what god she officiated, I could not learn. She was no doubt the medium through which the Tui Tonga communicated with a patron deity, quite possibly Hikuleo. 643 793 [776]

The Tui Tonga appealed to the gods when he was ill, just like any other chief. Mariner (40, vol. 1, p. 453) gives an account of the illness of Fuanunuiava. 643 776 755

By far the most important ceremony in which the Tui Tonga functioned was the great annual *inasi* or offering of first fruits to the gods. The word *inasi*, meaning to divide, to share, to apportion, is applied especially to food, and in the great *inasi* ceremony food and models of yams were brought as offerings. Although the food was brought to the Tui Tonga and the ceremony impossible without him, the appeal came from the people to the gods, the Tui Tonga evidently acting as intermediary. Or perhaps it is more correct to say that the Tui Tonga, being the most exalted of males, was needed in person at the ceremony in order to insure the favor of the gods. It is unfortunate that no further data on the *inasi* could be obtained in 1920 and 1921. However, the accounts of early voyagers refer to this ceremony. 643 782 [527]

Farmer (23, p. 129) says definitely, upon the authority of the Methodist missionary Thomas, that Hikuleo was the deity for whom the *inasi* was performed. [776]

Perhaps the great *inasi* included offerings to the royal dead as well as to Hikuleo, the ruler of the realm of the dead, for seventeen royal tombs in Tongatabu received shares (*inasi*) of offerings during ceremonies at the sanctuary Fanakava in Lapaha, Tongatabu: Fangaloto, Folokomanu, Matamoana, Makamaka, Heketa, Moungalafa, Leka, Tofaua, Tauatonga, Taetaea, Tauhakeleva, Mau, Katoa, Paepae o Telea, Namoala, Tuofefafa, Tuoteau. [769]

Misui Mafileo, an aged informant, described to me a *kotoni* ceremony (or perhaps entertainment) which he witnessed in Lapaha in his youth and at which the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga and a matapule named Toamalanga presided. Laufilitonga and Toamalanga formed the *mua* (focus, center, or head) of the ceremony. Laufilitonga was seated under a *koka* tree against which he leaned. Toamalanga sat beside him. The green (*malae*) of Feingakotone was the scene of the performance. Toamalanga's family wore oiled white tapa (*vakai*) in enormous folds around the waist. 643 796 527

Many people ("all the people in Tonga") were present. There were six or seven groups of warriors armed with clubs made from coconut fronds dried two days in the sun. The club bearers formed two lines of thirty to forty men each. On one side were men from Niuafoou, Niuatoputapu, Samoa, Vavau, Haapai, Eua, Fuaamotu in Tongatabu, and all the Hahake District 643 796 526 527

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When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this. As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity.

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* (child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*). The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity.

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure (23, p. 145).

One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua, Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing the Queen's residence.

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119.

THE TUI HAA TAKALAUA

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefliness and sanctity only, not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor, Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage.

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

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mand. Kava was also brought as a peace offering. A high chief, who was coöperating with me in gathering data, left word for an old man to come to our temporary residence, distant four or five miles. The old man failing to come, a second messenger was sent with a threat of horsewhipping. Thereupon the old man came as speedily as his years permitted, bearing a large piece of kava. He was profuse in his apologies, saying that he did not know whom it was that had requested his appearance. I noticed that servants of this chief in approaching bent low and that if he was seated near the door of the house they would make their exit through a window rather than pass near him.

A general tapu is placed upon the dishes and the remains of food or drink of a person higher in rank. It was thought that one breaking this tapu would suffer from sore throat, but the person of rank might offset the evil consequences by stroking the throat of the unfortunate person with the hand (anciently also with the feet). This tapu which holds throughout Tongan society is particularly observed between a chief and his underlings. To eat in front of a chief is likewise forbidden, the difficulties being avoided by eating with the back turned to the chief (*kaitafoki*).

The head of a person, also the back, is tapu to one of lower rank; it is tapu to pass close behind a chief. At big kava parties a great chief who does not sit in the kava ring takes a position which makes passing behind him unnecessary.

The food of a chief had to be prepared in a certain style and certain portions of mammals or birds were regarded as belonging by special prerogative to the chief. A roast pig is presented to a chiefly person in the following manner: After the pig has been removed from the oven and placed on its back on the hand barrow, sections of fresh banana leaves tied in place by strips of banana leaf are wrapped about the extremities of the four legs, the nose, and the region of the rectum. The purpose of this treatment was said to be the concealing of all those parts of the pig most in contact with anything dirty or filthy. The four parts of a pig which are regarded as fit food for a chief are in order of importance: (a) the back (*tua*), (b) the head (*ulu*), (c) the rump (*tuungaiku*), (d) the chest (*fatafata*), spoken of as the common part.

In serving chickens and pigeons to chiefs, the parts in order of importance are: (a) the rump with the oil glands (*muimui*), (b) the skin of the neck and back (*kiliikia*), (c) the legs (*alanga*), (d) the wings and chest (*hikehika*). I saw the operation of dividing a fowl for a high chief. The oil glands and the bit of skin near the rump were given him first. Then the skin at the base of the skull was broken with the fingers and stripped down the back of the neck on to the back.

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Coiled baskets (*katoalu*) are made by women, but never for their own use. Most of them are intended as gifts to a chief or for presents at weddings, funerals, or similar occasions. The basket may be used by the recipient, but many baskets, particularly openwork baskets, seem to be put to no practical use.

Wooden bowls were made by men who probably were *tufunga langafale*.

Tongan medical treatment is a mixture of magic and herb doctoring. (See page 338.) Most of the doctors are commoners, and may be either male or female (*tangata faitoo* or *fefine faitoo*). They are not appointed by chiefs, but usually follow the practice of a parent, thus keeping the knowledge a secret within the family. Payment (*tukutoo*) is made after a cure, in the form of a feast, during which valuable articles (*koloa*, wealth) such as tapa and mats are placed in front of the doctor. The supercisor of boys was termed *faikaukau* of *faitefe*. (See p. 188.)

While barbers, according to Mariner, might be either men or women, most of them are said to have been women. Women of chiefly rank could serve as barbers for chiefs.

TITLES OF MATAPULES AND ARTISANS

The following list includes the matapule titles which I have recorded, together with the origin of each title and the relationships of the incumbents so far as known. The titles of artisans are included, though all of them may not be strictly matapule titles. (See p. 144.)

Afeaki, matapule to the Tui Kanokupolu. Resides in Haapai.

Afu Haa Laufuli, a matapule of the Haa Molofaha, serving the Tui Kanokupolu; resides in Vavau. Anciently he was matapule to the Tui Haa Takalaua and had a house at Fonuamotu, Tongatabu, the residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

Afu Haa Mango, a matapule. Residence Okoa Island, Vavau.

Ahomee, a carpenter (*tufunga fale*) appointed by the chief Ahomee in whose *tofia* at Utui, Vavau, he lives. He was preceded in title by his father and his father's father. The present holder of the title is said to be a younger brother of the chief Ahomee.

Akauola, the *toutai* (navigator) of the king of Tonga. A member of the Haa Toutai. He is said to be of Samoan descent, the Samoan form of his title being Laauola. Akauola and Moala are related.

Angakehe, a matapule in the village of Uiha, Uiha Island, Haapai, serving the chief Malupo of that place.

Faingaa, a *toutai ika* (fisherman) of Talau, Vavau Island. Perhaps this is one of the Falefa matapules, for his partner is Mapu, as with Falefa matapules.

Fakatea, ruler of Vavau displaced by Tuituiohu, the "governor" sent there by the Tui Tonga Pau. Fakatea is said to have been only a matapule.

Fakatulolo, also called Lutui and Fokololo. A matapule of the Haa Toutai, now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, but formerly serving the Tui Haa Takalaua. The first incumbent is said to have come from the Tokelau Islands. Fokololo is the name of the garment worn by people when going into the sea. The first Fakatulolo of whom I have record was succeeded by his son Siu, who was succeeded by his daughter's son Tukia, who was succeeded by his brother Ngongo. A Fakatulolo died August 5, 1897.

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lenga, so that it fell into the sea. The place where it slid over the edge of the cliff is marked by a deep groove, through which soil and stone have slid into the sea. (See also 16, p. 8.)

At Matalanga in Utungake, Vavau, are a series of perpendicular holes or caves in the coral bedrock, which are said likewise to have been made by Maui thrusting in his digging stick. In the sea close by are two very smooth rocks, called Niumano and Moso, the larger being not more than 30 feet in diameter, said to be transformed sons of Maui. A plant *tepilo a Maui* (wind of Maui), common in Tonga, is associated with Maui. The plant, when in flower, smells like human excrement and is said to have acquired this characteristic because a branch of it was used by Maui as a wiper.

On the part of the weather shore of Uiha called Likutapu (so called because a Tui Tonga is said to be buried there, in a small langi) is a hollow stone called the kava bowl of Maui.

Hikuleo

Hikuleo, the great deity of Pulotu, whom Farmer (23, p. 132) connects with the Tui Tonga, is believed to manifest himself often at the present time. Thus, if fishermen return without a catch, it is a sign that Hikuleo has been at work with his great net, and that therefore no fish will enter the nets of mortals. Then the fishermen flee in fear. The particular locality where this is believed to occur is the inland waters of such lagoons as that of Tongatabu. Mamea, the Mother Superior of the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, contributed this information about Hikuleo's fishing. She stated, also, that there died about 1905 an old woman of Maufanga who claimed that she was frequently transported to the smaller outer islands by a god and then subsequently brought back. I do not know if this god was Hikuleo.

I was unable to settle the matter of the sex of Hikuleo in her (or his) role of deity of Pulotu, some informants made the deity masculine, others feminine (26). It is not improbable that, like Fehuluni, Hikuleo was bisexual. Caillot (7, p. 243) regards Hikuleo as a male deity, as do most other writers.

At the site of the present town of Haano, Haapai, there once stood a temple of Hikuleo. The temple was called Falemee. It was located on a tract called Fanakava. The priest of the goddess was named Manakoto, and her sacred animal was the sea snake (*tukuhali*). This temple was a famous place of refuge. If a person became sick, his relatives went to Manakoto and cut off little finger joints to make him well. Bodies of executed persons were taken to Manakoto. If Manakoto were angry a human sacrifice might be made to him, the sight of which made him happy. The following anecdote is told:

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objection was that it had been the place of a god's house. Girls of Pangaimotu were warned not to bathe on the beach in front of this site lest the god steal them away. A girl thus ravished by the god either died shortly thereafter, or was never seen again.

Hina

The moon is regarded as the abode of Hina, the goddess of beauty and consort of the handsome god Sinilau. It is said that in the full moon, Hina can be seen seated under an *ovava* tree beating tapa on a tapa board (*tutua*). One informant mentioned a moon god named Mahina, which is also the designation of the physical moon itself and also of the months. The term *hinehina* refers to the whiteness of moonlight. The sun seems also to have been anthropomorphised, for he is characterized as the father of certain heroes (26, p. 111). There were, however, no temples to either the sun or the moon, nor were there any priests so far as I could learn.

Taufa

The full name of the deity Taufa is Taufaitahi or Taufa of-the-sea. His principal shrine seems to have been at Tatakamotonga, in Mua, the capital of Tongatabu. The temple, called Kikiloi, was located on the tract Ahau. This temple was not different from any ordinary Tongan house. There was also a temple of this god in the tract called Ahau in the present village of Hihifo, Lifuka Island, Haapai. In both Haapai and Tongatabu the god was believed to appear in the form of a white man-eating shark (*tenifa*). Should a *tenifa* kill anyone, the people considered that the god was angry and proceeded to present kava and other things to propitiate him. In Lifuka, the descendants of the former shark worshippers still live in the tract called Ahau. The head of the family today is David Ti.

Taufaitahi bears the distinction of having been the patron god of Taufaahau, later King George I.

Taufaahau was originally called as a small boy Ngininginiofolanga. His health was poor, so his parents brought him from Haapai to Tongatabu, taking him to the chief Vaea of Houma and to Maafutukuiaulahi of Vaini, whose daughter, Hoamofaleono, was Taufaahau's mother. Moreover, in that time there was a famine in Haapai. Vaea and Maafu took the boy to the temple of Taufaitahi at Mua and besought Kautae the priest to plead for him. They carried the boy into the god's house and then they brought a coconut to Kautae who spun it. When the coconut stopped, the eyes pointed skyward (out of the door of the house) and the sickness left the boy. If the coconut had pointed otherwise the boy would have died. The cause of the boy's sickness was unknown. The god was in the priest Kautae at the time of the cure. At the curing Kautae, while inspired, said to Taufaahau's family: "I'm going to cure him. I think he is better. I think I can make him better. If I can't you'd better take him to another god. I'll spin the coconut to see if he will get better."

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After spinning the coconut, Kautae cracked it and then sprinkled everyone with coconut water. This was to make the sickness leave Taufaahau. After the god had restored the boy to health, Kautae changed his name from Ngininginiofolanga to Taufaahau.

Any chief sick a long while might be brought before Kautae, with such presents as roast pig and kava. The visitors sat very quietly while the god entered Kautae. The coming of the god was shown by Kautae's looking "like a fool." When the god entered Kautae he was seated. [The informant, the Kautae of 1921, had seen his father thus possessed.] Afterwards Kautae spun the coconut to determine if the person would live. Then kava was made for the god. The kava was drunk by the people, but sea water brought in a coconut vessel was given to the god through his representative Kautae. The kava was served in banana leaf cups, as was the salt water. These, together with the bowl and strainer were brought by Fakaotoota, the priest's attendant who was regularly appointed by Kautae. These were used anciently in place of coconut shells. Salt water did not make Kautae sick. The god was still in Kautae when he drank salt water. Kautae shook all over when the god was in him. The movement of the body was an up-and-down trembling, arms flexed and shaking, head bowed slightly, eyes staring.

The succession to the priestly office of Kautae seems to have been as follows: (5) the incumbent of 1921; (4) the incumbent's father; (3) the incumbent's father's father's brother's son; (2) the incumbent's father's father's brother; (1) the incumbent's father's father.

The present Kautae said that, when a new priest was appointed at the death of the old one, the god enters the new priest, even though the new priest was only an appointee of the chief or of the king. The present Kautae, who is a Christian, has never felt as though the god were going to enter him. His son, who will probably succeed to the title, is called Halafaiafenga.

There are two tales about an alleged tomb of the god Taufaitahi which lies beneath the sea. One version places this tomb between Vavau and Niuatoputapu. It is said that in looking through the waters from a boat one can see the white tomb (*faitoka*) and usually near it Taufaitahi himself in the form of a white shark. The other tale attributes the tomb to the bay of Mua in the lagoon of Tongatabu, and between the island of Moungatapu and the place called Nahafu. It cannot be seen from the surface of the water on account of the mud, but by diving the alleged grave can be seen, a stone surrounded by white sand; it is called Muliafanini. The god himself is said to have dubbed this submarine spot his grave.

A tale refers to the seizing of a man named Fatuimoana by the shark god Taufaitahi:

A number of people were going to the island of Motutapu, Tongatabu, one day to attend games of playing in the surf (*faniſo*). The shark seized Fatuimoana by the arm when he dived and dragged him beneath the water. The people could look down and see the victim being held by the great shark. The priest of the god was sent for and came in the boat. He dived down and brought the drowned Fatuimoana to the surface. The body of the victim was taken to the Hahake district in Tongatabu and the inferior relatives of Fatuimoana had their little fingers cut off and brougnt as offerings to Kautae who was begged to restore Fatuimoana to life, but all in vain.

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[Lifuka Island]

An informant, Josiah Paluto of Pangai, Lifuka, gave me the following account of the god Ngaohaa: 776 [115]

The priestess much consulted by the chiefs of Pangai, Lifuka, was an old woman named Melaia who resided at Holopeka, on a tract that is situated in the hereditary lands of Tui Afitu, who lives in Vavau. The priestess resided in a heathen temple by herself and she was very powerful (mighty), "just like God"; for she was able to accomplish many things. She served the god Ngaohaa, who was also the deity of Fonoifua Island, which likewise belongs to Tui Afitu. [It seems likely that the god was Tui Afitu's tulelary deity.] 776 793

If she said it would rain, rain came. If she said it would blow hard, it did so. The people used to go to consult her. If a voyage was about to be undertaken and the priestess said it would blow, the voyage was abandoned for that day; but she would direct the people upon which day to sail, as the wind would be favorable on that day. If oil-making was to be done by the chiefs, the priestess would be asked if the weather would be fine or wet. If she said it would be fine, the oil-making was undertaken, but if she said it would be wet, the oil-making was deferred. 776 793 821 484 793 821

If a chief's child was sick, the child and a woman would be taken to the priestess and a finger cut off of the woman and offered as a sacrifice. The priestess would then be asked about the child's chances of recovery. The priestess would reply: "You must await the god's appearance." As they sat and waited they would see the priestess tremble and suddenly the god would appear in the form of a gecko (*moko*). The priestess would exclaim: "The god has appeared and you may return in peace, as the chief's offspring will live." The signs were easily read and depended upon the appearance or non-appearance of the god. 776 793 787 755 [782]

At other times chiefs would go to the priestess to consult as to future events. Melaia would say: "Wait here until the god appears." Presently he would appear, but the first thing the chiefs would notice would be the trembling of Melaia, who at the same time would bring up green vomit. Afterwards Melaia would say: "Chiefs and people, listen well to me. The god did damage last night. He ate man. Now these are the instructions to you. You chiefs can leave this place and rest. Come back tomorrow. In the meantime, the god and I will hold a consultation as to the reason of these recent happenings." 776 793 787

On one occasion Melaia consulted the god, who said to her: "This is what you must tell to the chiefs and people when they come tomorrow: One of the Tui Tonga's vessels left last night, but met with disaster enroute. A matapule of the Tui Tonga was coming on an errand for him; namely, to take away the Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter. As the vessel is wrecked, the message has not been delivered and the Tui Tonga's matapule is lost, he who is the son of Paku. He and many others were swallowed by a man-eating shark (*tenifa*). When the shark was opposite Holopeka it jumped ashore. Then the gecko went and ate the shark." Afterwards the gecko vomited through Melaia and it was green blood he vomited. The loss of the Tui Tonga's vessel had been unknown to the chiefs until Melaia informed them.

This was the answer that Melaia gave to the people the next day, saying: "This is what has happened regarding what you wanted to know."

Another informant, Ana Manu of Holopeka, had this to say regarding Ngaohaa: [115]

The people prayed and made obeisance to this god. There was a house for the god in the town of Holopeka. The situation of the house was called Tave, and the holy place (*potu tapu*) was called Pava. It was strictly prohibited for anyone to enter the place in which was the god. A basket was placed in the shrine. In it were a throwing club and a whale's tooth, which were wrapped in a piece of tapa (*fetaaki*) smeared with turmeric on the outside. 776 778

Should people come to pray to the god they remained outside and expressed their [782]

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[Lifuka Island]

In making obeisance to the god on the occasion of some disaster, the people would place around their necks wreaths of *ifi* leaves and don white tapa on their heads. They would remain outside and make obeisance. If their purpose was the cure of a sick person, the person would be brought on a kind of litter or bier and placed outside where the people were sitting. The patient would be massaged and anointed by the priest and would recover. 776 782 755 [757]

In the holy place were various trees. Should anyone pluck of them that person would fall down near unto death. If taken to the god, he would recover. If the carriage to the god's house was not speedy, death would result. 776 778 784 753

When the god entered into Havea, his priest, it was noticed that Havea trembled. His face changed color and he "looked dreadful." Havea had concubines who resided in the place called Manikolo. These were allotted separate periods with Havea and slept with him in pairs, one to be with him in the day time and the other to be with him in the night time. 776 793 [787] [595]

The people said prayers to Ulueiga. The god had his graveyard which was called Haa Fakanapa. 776 782

There was a god in Koulo, Lifuka, whose name was Tangakina. The name of his premises where he had a home, was Nahakalau. People prayed and made supplication to him. If persons were sick they would go to the god's place. They remained outside of his house, however, bending the body in respect. The god also had a water hole called Faatoto, which means "often blood stained." [778] [516] [778] [823]

Deities of Foa Island

In addition to the account of the god Tui Haa Fakafanua (p. 297), the informant Mesake Lomu of Fotua, gave me this report of another god of Foa Island:

Fakatoufifita was the god of the chief Niukapu in Fangaleounga, Foa. The people prayed to Fakatoufifita and if any person was sick, they would cut off the finger of another and take it to Fakatoufifita as an offering, which was wrapped in an unfinished piece of tapa (*fetaaki*). The patient would immediately recover. [755]

The god (priest?) lived in his house in Fangaleounga on the premises known as Fungasi. There was a sacred basket of the god's, inside of which were two objects, a whale's tooth and a parcel of turmeric. [793] [778]

Deities of Haafeva Island

Tonu and Lahe, presumably male deities, were mentioned as being associated with a well or spring which was regarded as their property. The spring is called Matahiva. 776 778 [823]

Deities of Fotuhaa Island

My informant did not know the name of the patron deity of Fotuhaa, but said that the name of the tract in the bush where the priest of the god lived was Laulea. This god seems to have been besought if there was a drought, the people bringing coconuts and wreathes (*sisi*) and making kava in front of the god's house. [821] [782]

The god, while in possession of the person of the priest, drank the kava. After the kava drinking the spokesman of the people, usually a matapule, would tell the god that the island had been long without rain and that rain was desired. The god, speaking 776 793 787 821

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told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons.

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

Deities of Nomuka Island

Folautaofi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaofi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people.

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292).

Deities of Uiha Island

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies.

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him.

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well.

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left.

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could

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eat everything because his god was in him. To Haveakai, and to other Tongan gods, a huge root of kava was an invariable present, as it is to a great chief. Such a sized root was called *konga kava*.

The priest of the god Kafoiaatu was named Maumui and his home was in the tract Manaiange, in Uiha, where he had a house. He possessed whale ivory, which was kept in a fine mat, and black tapa. The fine mat was placed on the black tapa, and then wrapped in a piece of ordinary tapa, and no one was allowed to go near the place where it was kept.

This deity was also the god of the chief Malupo of Uiha, and he and the people prayed to Kafoiaatu. When they went to offer sacrifice they would wear Tahitian chestnut leaves strung around their necks. They would sit outside the god's house and pray from there. They had also plain tapa (*lou-fetaaki*) wound around their heads. No chief ever offered any sacrifice, but the matapule did.

The bird of the god is the fruit dove *kulukulu* (*Ptilopus porphyraceus*) and the spirit of the god entered the *kulukulu*. If this dove flew and roosted in a tree, noise of any kind would be forbidden nearby. When Kafoiaatu entered Maumui, he shivered and cried and changed and became white like a corpse. If anyone was on the point of death and a person's finger was cut off and given as an offering to Kafoiaatu and that offering was accepted, the person recovered.

Another Uiha deity was the god Taufamangumoetoto.

His priest was Kakala. His tract was Finetofusi and he had a house on it. The things he left in this house were a shield (*pa*) and a club. The bird of the god was the *kaleva* (*Eudynamis tahitiensis*) and he often entered into this bird. This god hated dogs. The people prayed and sacrificed to him. If there was any sickness, or a person near death, they would then cut off somebody's finger and take it to Taufamangumoetoto and if the sacrifice were accepted, the person would live. If sacrifice were to be made the people wore a string of *hoi* leaves round their necks and then went and offered sacrifice to the god. It was forbidden that they enter the god's house and they would sit outside. This god belonged to Tuita Toluafetupu and his family and was regarded as very sacred (*toputapu aupito*). It was forbidden for anyone to make any noise near, or to enter, the god's premises.

Another god in Uiha was called Foliaki of Pulotu.

This god belonged to Malupo and his family. His priest was Havea who lived in a house on the island Uiha; but apparently the shrine of the god was on Tatafa Island. He had a basket as the shrine (*fakafaanga*) and container of his sacred objects of whale ivory and shells. He also had a pigeon (*lupe, Globicera pacifica*) which he would let loose. The pigeon would go to Tatafa Island and the people would go to the pigeon. Their gatherings all took place at the Sia Hinefaitehina. If anyone was ill he and his relatives would string the chestnut leaves and wear them around their necks and go to the god and make their sacrifices near his shrine.

This god's food consisted of yams, pork, and other things, and he would drink the young coconuts. He detested the name of Fatafehi and it was never mentioned in Uiha. For the same reason the name Manumataongo Polau Faivaka was never called.

When this god entered Havea, the priest is said to shiver and change, and his face to become red, and his manner utterly different. Kava was not served to Havea in the ordinary kava cup, but in a folded banana leaf. He had scraped coconut for relish (*fono*) and this was folded up in banana leaves. After he had partaken of the kava, he would lift up his relish and eat it all, not leaving a crumb.

All noise, such as whistling and clapping, was forbidden at this god's place.

There were two other Uiha deities whose names and sex the informant did not know. One of these deities had a house on a tract called Pulemoui,

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appeared. When the priest became inspired he uttered the god's commands. The priest always became inspired at one particular place on Tafahi. There was no temple, however, but only a large rock which was also called Fatuulu. (The gods entered their priests only at certain places.) The ground at this rock was sacred. Any man who stood on it would die. Even a Maatu might not go there. Fatuulu commanded all the fish. The *kaloama* was not especially sacred to him. Fatuulu was the Otua Haa Maatu, that is, the god of the lineage of Maatu.

Maatu knew the place of another god but did not remember his name.

There was a god house. This god supported Maatu (Ikamafana II?) when he conquered Tafahi. Ngongo did some fighting, too. The god's house (43) was like a chief's house, except that it was closed in all around and the entrance was through a hole just under the eaves, reached by climbing a tree. This god entered into Maatu himself; that is, into everyone of the line. The god that entered Maatu was different from those that entered priests. The reason the Niuatoputapuans were not conquered by the Tongatabuans was because this god stayed with them all the time. The difference between this god and Fatuulu was that this god was in Maatu all the time and never left him, while Fatuulu came from the rocks in the ocean to enter Toumaama. Maatu himself as embodying his god was a priest too. In battle, Maatu's god would run ahead of him in human form.

When a person became ill he was carried to Maatu's god's house and laid outside. If the person's sickness did not yield to medicines, a consultation of the family settled who would sacrifice a little finger for the sick person. This was done in the sick person's house, and the blood caught in a banana leaf and two outer finger joints placed in it. These were carried to the god's house. People would sit on the ground outside, cross-legged, hands clasped, heads bowed down. They put the offering on the ground while the priest looked down from the doorway. This is said to apply also to Fatuulu, who had a similar house. The priest would say, "It is well. The god has told me you may take this man back. He is well now. His sin is finished." Then they would all arise with the man that was sick and go home.

If the people went in the morning with sacrifice they might sit at the god's house all day until the god gave an answer. Having to sit there in the sun was something of a sacrifice itself. Each had to have a ragged mat around his waist and wear a necklace of Tahitian chestnut leaves.

A god's house might be in the bush. All was tapu around for a certain distance. People would not go near. No one went inside. In the house of Maatu's god were war implements, large white cowries, and a kava bowl. Shells, other than cowries, were strung spirally around the posts.

Seketoa did not have a priest because the transformation of the young chief to fish form took place so recently. Seketoa had no house. He was always a fish after his suicide. (26, p. 83.)

At times the priest would order a member of some family to be strangled. The reason might be that the person did not believe in the god. "In those days all were practically slaves to the gods." There were many other gods unknown to the informant, but all were afraid of Maatu's god. The pig was sacred to Maatu's god. People might kill and eat pigs only at the god's pleasure.

Offerings were not regularly made by the people. When the god wanted something the priest gave orders that it be brought. No excuse would be given for the demand.

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Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo*, are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga*. No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua*. Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

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fect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, some of us were of opinion that it was occasioned by the death of their parents, or some other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whose hands were both perfect, of such an advanced age, that it was hardly possible his parents could be living. They also burn or make incisions in their cheeks, near the cheek bone. The reason of this was equally unknown to us.

Wilson (66, pp. lii, liii) and Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 210) describe well the process of finger sacrifice and tell of children competing for the privilege of sacrificing for some sick relative.

The sacrifice of human beings was resorted to on the following occasions: (1) Sometimes to secure the recovery of a great chief from illness, (2) following the death of a great chief when his widows might be strangled, or anciently perhaps burned alive, (3) at the funeral of a great chief, when the undertaker and (or) certain commoners would be imprisoned in the great stone burial vault, and left there to die, (4) at the dedication of certain temples, (5) perhaps on the occasion of the launching of certain great double vessels. The carving of living victims appears not to have been in the nature of a sacrifice (26, pp. 34, 192).

Sacrifices to the gods to secure the recovery of a great chief often consisted of one or more of the chief's own children by women of inferior rank. Children of low rank who were liable to be sacrificed were called *tuputalinafi*. A sacrifice for the recovery of the Tui Kanokupolu Mumui is described by Wilson (66, pp. 238, 239). Mariner (41, vol. 2, p. 208) describes others. A sacrifice was made for the old chief Fatu of Tongatabu, father of Tungi I. Fatu was very ill, and his sister's son Tavake (Fatu's *fahu*) ordered that his own son be strangled as an offering. The strangling did not take place in the sick man's house but outdoors. The victim with his two executioners was covered with a huge piece of tapa. When the strangling cord had done its work the trio were uncovered and the corpse of the victim carried into the house of the god Pulotu Katoa. The sacrifice was of no avail, for the god, speaking through his shaking priest, predicted Fatu's death, which shortly occurred. According to Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 410) a man destined for sacrifice was called *tangata tapu*.

The strangling of widows of great chiefs which was the custom at the end of the eighteenth century, may have been due to Fijian influence (41, vol. 2, p. 209; 66, p. 240). Some evidence that burning alive was an earlier method appears in Samoan tales dealing with Tonga (36, vol. 1, pp. 94, 344). Whether this custom can be connected with the suttee of India, I cannot say, but it seems quite possible that the burning may have been a cultural feature brought from the continent and later supplanted by the strangling cord of Fiji; or possibly strangling may be traced westward through Micronesia and connected with the custom in ancient Japan. Hearn (29, p. 314)

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Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu, had the following to say:

If Maatu's younger brother or children vex Maatu and he is angry with them, he will say as follows, "All right. You stay and just wait and you'll know something," meaning, something bad will happen later on. In a couple of weeks one is sure to fall sick and die, and then it will be said that that is "the *manai* (verbal form of mana) of Maatu." Thus they would be punished for presumption. Then perhaps another will get sick. They will come to be reconciled to him, asking forgiveness and apologizing. Then he will say, "All right. I am good tempered again." After his saying that the sick one will recover. The process could not be reversed because Maatu is the higher in rank. The proof that that is true is that if one were to drink from Maatu's coconut, his neck would swell up. Maatu might cure him by *amohi*—stroking the affected part. The stomach might swell too. This can be removed by the angry person touching with his hands the affected part, or blowing on it. [*Moemoei* consists of gently pressing the affected part with the feet. This was always done by a chief (p. 118).]

Weapons were placed in a temple in order to acquire the mana of the god. John Havea said that when a weapon has mana, it is the "abode of a spirit (*faahikehe*)" and it confers prowess and might on the user. A mana-charged club loaned to another would take its virtue with it. The method of lending was to lay the weapon across the open palm of the recipient's hand, the owner crushing and rubbing a piece of banana stalk on the weapon over the open palm of the other man's hand. This act was called *fanofano*. Vahai gave to Takai his own martial courage (*toa*) by doing *fanofano* to Takai.

Vahai's club was so full of mana that it could not lie still and was always moving (*futefute*) as it reposed in the house. On one occasion a man was sent to fetch from the house Vahai's club, which was wrapped in a mat. Entering, he could see no club, but only the bundle of mat, which kept moving, and he thought it to be a child. Returning he said there was no club, but only this child. Vahai told him to go and bring it, which he did, it being the mana club. Vahai's club gave warning of war planned against Vahai, by moving. The movement was caused by the "mana of the god."

The ceremony of *fanofano* was also performed to transfer the ability to effect a certain cure, which includes not only the prescription, but also the mana to perform it.

GHOSTS AND SOULS

The modern Tongans seem to distinguish between ghosts and souls. Ghosts are called *faahikehe* and more rarely *ata* (shadow); souls are called *laumalie* for a chief, *mou* for a commoner, and *lakoifie* for the Tamaha, Tui Tonga, and Tui Pelehake.

Baker defines *laumalie* as "spirit, soul, life," and my informants seem to use it in these senses and to regard it as invisible during waking hours, but as appearing in dreams. According to modern Tongan belief, the *laumalie* is in God's keeping after death and stays in heaven. It may appear to a relative in a dream and when so appearing is believed to give warning. In modern Tonga no discrimination is made as to the destiny of souls on the basis of rank, as Mariner says was done in heathen Tonga.

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The following translation of an old text refers to the destiny of souls in ancient times, but without reference to rank:

> It was said by the people in olden times, that when this body died it [evidently the soul and not the physical body is meant] went at once to Pulotu. When they [the souls] got there, Hikuleo (the ruler of Pulotu) chose some as posts for his fence, and some as supports for the log on which tapa is made, and some were taken as posts for the gate of Hikuleo's fence, etc."

Souls in Pulotu were thought to have earthly appearance though they are only shadows. The souls or spirits of chiefs (including the Tui Tonga) were thought to go to Pulotu, identified with the Underworld (Lolofonua) by some modern Tongans. The soul of a commoner was supposed to appear as an insect on a tapa or mat specially spread after the burial. The tapa was spread in the house where the commoner died and the watchers sat about until an insect appeared thereon, when the mat was carefully folded and tied near the ceiling of the house and never again examined. This appearance of the soul of the deceased was called *fakahaele laumalie*. The souls of chiefs never appeared in insect or other animal form.

Now and then the soul of a very great man might manifest itself through a priest. Ideas about reincarnation of the deceased were rare, though a story is told of a dying man who told his weeping children that he would return as a white man to care for them. Another account relates that a woman's soul, incarnate in a rat, came to visit her child. Another woman's soul was said to be incarnate in a large lizard (26, p. 108). Normally, only the gods, and not the souls of men, became incarnate, in animals. The souls or spirits of men might return to this earth, however, as indicated in a narrative and poem recorded by Collocott (16, p. 96).

The term for ghosts (*faahikehe*)—also applied to the gods, to the soul, and (or) the spirit—is a generic term for spiritual beings and means literally "different side or different half of anything divided" (in contrast to human beings). Baker defines *faahikehe* as "the name for all the Tonga gods; an evil spirit." One informant likened a *faahikehe* to an image in a mirror, describing it as something seen but incapable of being grasped. One informant gave the word *otua* (god) as an occasional term for ghost. The word *faahikehe* is also applied to the priest, apparently when possessed by the god. This usage prevailed in Mariner's time (41, vol. 2, p. 80), as well as to-day.

Some sickness is believed to be due to possession by a ghost. The treatment is to drink an infusion of certain leaves called *lautolu* and to have the infusion massaged on the body as well. When the ghost is thus driven out the patient cries bitterly, "because sorry to part with the ghost." The infusion may be used as a prophylactic against possession.

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sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months.

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food.

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*).

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect.

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.)

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given.

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent.

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50).

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said:

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may

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him talking to the *tevolo*, and if surprised at his work in the bush he will either make a wizard of his unwelcome visitor or else cause him to sicken and die. The informant also said that if a sorcerer is reported to his fellow townsmen he may be killed by anyone who wishes, and his relatives dare not avenge his death.

The two Nomuka informants said that although people were bewitched by means of leaves in the possession of the sorcerer, that there were other ways of accomplishing the result, as follows:

> The sorcerer may carry leaves of the various sorts, usually pulverized, inside of a bamboo tube, the powdered material to be placed in cigarettes for the victim, or the sorcerer may carry the tube of pulverized leaves under his belt ready for use. Perhaps he sits beside his victim laughing and smoking in apparent friendliness and when opportunity offers points the cane secretly at his victim. This is enough to cause the victim's death in a day or two. Another method is to bury the bamboo tube, with the poison in it before the victim's door or under his bed. A sorcerer discovered in the act would be killed at once. Sometimes the sorcerer takes a cigarette butt thrown away by the victim, and puts it with the deadly leaves, and buries it whole where the victim perhaps is planting yams.

Sorcery of this nature is said to be non-effective against Caucasians, because they eat more salt than Tongans. The two Nomuka informants knew of none of their relatives being bewitched, but said that they had heard of witchcraft among other people.

> Once a person is bewitched only the sorcerer can save him. The victim may suspect the sorcerer and visit him or get his relatives to, in order to beg for mercy. If the sorcerer relents he either exposes the bamboo tube to the sun or he changes the contents of the tube. If he makes a mistake in changing the leaves, he, as well as the victim, dies.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following anecdote concerning an attempt at causing death by supernatural aid, at Lifuka Island, Haapai, about 1915.

> Whilst busy packing bananas, the other day, a native named Malakai came running into the yard and asked whether his stepson Lisala was there and if he had been packing bananas. On being told that he had filled a couple of cases and had gone to get more bananas, he demanded wildly to see the stalks of Lisala's bunches and on somebody's pointing them out he declared that they were stolen from his plantation. Taking one of the stalks in his hand and waving it around his head dramatically, he announced his intention of going and placing it in the church, in order to cause the sudden and painful death of his stepson. While he was declaring thus, his wife—the mother of Lisala—came on the scene, and pleaded forgiveness for the wayward son. At last the mother's entreaties prevailed and the two went off together. Immediately after their departure Lisala came out of hiding from the back of the copra shed and calmly filled up another case with stolen bananas.

SICKNESS FROM SUPERNATURAL CAUSES

Misdeeds on the part of a member of a family are believed to result in afflictions for one or more other members of the family, as illustrated by the two following modern occurrences. (See also 11, pp. 136-142.)

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A woman whose husband had recently died came with her children to a missionary. She said the children were sickly. Consumption appeared the obvious trouble, but she wanted the missionary to pray with them, maintaining that there was a curse somewhere. She had learned from conversation in their village that the children's grandfather had had a pact (held the book, *puke tohi*) with his *tuofefine* (sister or female cousin) and had concluded that this was the reason for all the disaster. 753 [164]

A man had been sick for sometime, and so all his family were cross-examined as to their acts. It developed that one of his sons had gone to Niuafoou some time before with his cousin's wife. He was supposed to look after her on the voyage and performed his duties too tenderly. That was the reason of his father's illness, so it was thought, but whether the son's confession did the old man any good was not learned. [835]

On page 334 I have recounted an incident in which the child of a Tui Tonga became ill because of the intrigue of its mother, while the Tui Tonga was in Haapai. Certain other acts were believed to have serious consequences for one doing them. (See pp. 18, 118, 335, 343, 344.) [837]

Dreams of a certain type are believed to cause certain ailments. (See p. 337.) [828]

To kill the white tern when on a voyage is believed to bring illness. To point at a rainbow, or at the setting sun, is believed to give one elephantiasis in the arm. It is not injurious, however, to look at a rainbow. [825] [821]

If women, bathing in a certain pool or passing near the western cemetery at Maufanga, Tongatabu, saw a gecko, they said that Tui Haa Fakafanua (a god who becomes incarnate in the *gecko*) had entered one of them because he liked her. Pining away and death were the result. Even today, when a girl at Maufanga dies, it is often said that Tui Haa Fakafanua has caused her death. Convent girls from the Hahake district of Tongatabu are said to be particularly liable to such attacks because the Hahake people and the Maufanga people were formerly at enmity. 753 776 787 (761)

Other gods or demons were also believed to enter into living persons and cause illness. To drive out such an unwelcome tenant, the affected part of the body was tightly held and massaged, working the demon to an extremity of the body to force him out, at the same time using magic words. [755]

In November, 1920, there occurred an alleged attack by the spirit of a dead man. 753 775

A number of girls from the convent at Maufanga, Tongatabu, were gathering shellfish at Anana, in the lagoon at Tongatabu. One of the girls said that she was attacked by the spirits of three of her deceased relatives, who approached her in a boat while she was standing on the reef. Her symptoms were bleeding from the nose and cramps in the legs, and she declared that her deceased mother's brother, David Alatoa, struck her on the nose. The attack was of course not seen by her companions.

Mr. W. H. Murley relates the following: 763 775

A man from Vavau, a short time ago, died suddenly in a village called Fakakakai in Haapai from hemorrhage of the lungs. A man from the village came into the store on the day he died and was discussing the matter with a woman from here (Pukotala) in the course of which she said that he (the deceased) might have been struck by evil spirits and then enquired if he had any relatives buried here. The answer was that his mother had died in Fakakakai, on hearing this the woman immediately said, "There, that is the reason of his sudden death." [165]

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times. 784 784 842

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas. 784 793

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau. [261]

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu. 784 565 [753]

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab. 784

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result. [565] [753]

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives. 784 604

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray. [553] [755] 784 827 302

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profusion of tears; they sometimes swoon away for a few minutes: the height of the paroxysm generally lasts from a quarter to half an hour. These are also called fits of inspiration, and are firmly believed to be visitations from some god who accuses the party of neglect of religious duty, not by an apparent audible warning, but by an inward compunction of conscience. But these things are also common enough in all parts of the world, at home as well as abroad. Some of the natives are such adepts at this sort of mysterious conversation with the divinities, that they can bring on a fit of inspiration whenever they feel their mind at all so disposed. Mr. Mariner, indeed, did once witness a rare instance of a man who was disappointed in this particular: finding himself, as he thought, about to be inspired, some cava was brought to him (as is usual on such occasions), but, in a little while, he was obliged to acknowledge that the god would not visit; at which all present were greatly surprised, and so the cava was taken away again.

These imaginations, however, have sometimes produced very serious consequences: to give an instance; on one occasion a certain chief, a very handsome young man, became inspired, but did not yet know by whom; on a sudden he felt himself exceedingly low spirited, and

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787 shortly afterwards swooned away; when recovered from this, still finding himself very ill, he 154 was taken to the house of a priest *, who told 755 the sick chief that it was a woman, mentioning 763 her name, who had died two years before, and was now in Bolotoo†, that had inspired him; that she was deeply in love with him, and wished him to die (which event was to happen in a few days,) that she might have him near her: the chief replied that he had seen the figure of a female two or three successive nights in his sleep, and had begun to suspect he was inspired by her, though he could not tell who she was. He died two days afterwards. Mr. Mariner visited the sick chief three or four times, at the house of the priest, and heard the latter foretel his death and the occasion of it.

787 Now we are upon this subject it may not be 154 amiss to mention that Finow's son, who at this period of our history was at the Navigator's islands, used to be inspired by the spirit‡ of

[799] * It is customary to take sick persons to the house of a priest, that the will of the gods may be known. The priest becomes immediately inspired, and remains almost constantly in that state while the sick person is with him. If he does not get better in two or three days he is taken to another priest, &c.

[775] † Bolotoo is the name they give to their paradise, and is supposed to be an island to the north-westward.

[775] ‡ The souls of deceased nobles become gods of the second
[565] rank in Bolotoo.
[776]

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CHAPTER XII.

000 **Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Veona—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty'—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.**

593 634 758 [551] [778] [776] SHORTLY after Toobó Malóhi and his followers had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Lolángi* (which, in the Hamoa language, means descended from the sky), about six or seven years of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was removed from her father's house to another inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo, the patron god of the *Haws*. Almost every 755 782 morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-

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sented before the house, as an offering to the god, that he might spare her life for the sake of Finow. On these occasions, one or other of the matabooles, and sometimes two or three in succession, made an address to the invoked divinity (for he had no priest), to the following purpose: "Here thou seest assembled Finow "and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles "of thy favoured land" (the Tonga islands, taken collectively), "thou seest them humbled "before thee. We pray thee not to be mer- "ciless, but spare the life of the woman* for "the sake of her father, who has always been "attentive to every religious ceremony†: but "if thy anger is justly excited by some crime "or misdemeanor committed by any other of "us who are here assembled, we entreat thee "to inflict on the guilty one the punishment "which he merits, and not to let go thy ven- "geance on one who was born but as yester- "day. For our own parts, why do we wish to "live but for the sake of Finow; but if his "family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, inno-

* On *such occasions* they call the person for whom they intercede, however young, either a *man*, or *woman*, according to the sex, although they have appropriate words to express *boy*, *girl*, and *child*.

† Finow was noted for his want of religion: the above words, therefore, were used as mere form, and because no one dared to say otherwise.

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755 "cent as well as guilty. How canst thou be
782 "merciless! dost thou not see here *Finów*,—
634 "and is not *A'foo* here, who descended from
599 "ancient Tonga chiefs now in Bolótoo;—and
"is not *Fótoo* here, and did he not descend from
"*Moomoóe* formerly How of Tonga;—and is
"not *A'lo* here, and *Niucápoo*, and *Toobó!*—then
"why art thou merciless?" (spoken in rather an impatient and peremptory tone) "have regard
"for Finow, and save the life of his daughter."

Every morning, as before stated, for about a fortnight, a hog was killed and offered to the god, and addresses were made similar to the above, and repeated five, six, or seven times a day, but the god seemed to hearken not to their
[778] petition, and the child daily got worse. In about fourteen or sixteen days, finding their prayers unavailing, they took her to another fencing in the neighbourhood, consecrated to *Too'i foo'a Bolo'too*. Here the same ceremonies were practised for about a week, with as little
755 good result. Finow, finding his daughter get-
782 ting worse instead of better, ordered his large
634 canoes to be launched, and his wives, chiefs,
599 matabooles, in short his whole household, to go
484 on board. His sick daughter was conveyed into the canoe which he and his wives occupied,
[793] Mr. Mariner also being on board. They set
[787] sail for the island of Hoonga, which belonged
[776]

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to a priest called *Toobó Téa*, who was accustomed to be inspired by Finow's tutelar god *Toobó Totái*. On this island several enclosures or fencings are consecrated to this god: to one of which his daughter was carried, and the same offering and same kind of address was frequently made; but in this case, not before the consecrated house where the sick child lay, but wherever the priest happened to be, which was generally at his own house or at Finow's. It must here be remarked that those gods who have priests are invoked in the person of the inspired priest wherever he may happen to be: those who have no priest are invoked at the consecrated house by a mataboole, as was the case in the late instance with *Tali-y-Toobó*, who has no priest.

Toobó Totái was thus invoked every day, in the person of his priest, during a fortnight or three weeks. Seated at the head of the cavaring*, he seemed much affected, and generally shed a profusion of tears. To their earnest entreaties he scarcely ever made any answer, and when he did, it was, for the most part, to the following effect; "Why do you weary your-"selves with entreating me?" (speaking as if he were the god) "if the power to restore the "woman rested solely with me, I would do it: "be assured it is all done by the will of the

* See the form of invocation, p. 99.

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"gods of Bolotoo." Every day he visited the sick girl, occasionally sat down by her, took her hand and shed tears. During this time the matabooles frequently repaired to the house of the priest, and laying cava before him, consulted him privately. On one of these occasions, Finow not being present, he told them that if they knew why the child was sick they would not come thus to invoke him: he then declared, in general terms, that it was for the common good. Finow, being informed of this, addressed the priest at the consultation on the following morning, asking him (or rather the god within him) what he meant by the general good? "If "my spirits are oppressed, are not those of all "my subjects so likewise? but if the gods have "any resentment against us, let the whole "weight of vengeance fall on my head: I fear "not their vengeance,—but spare my child; "and I earnestly entreat you, *Toobo Totái*, to "exert all your influence with the other gods, "that I alone may suffer all the punishment "they desire to inflict." To this the god returned no answer, and the priest retiring among the people, the company separated.

As soon as Finow arrived at his house, his spirits no doubt much agitated, and his pride, in all probability, much hurt, he laid down on his mat, and felt himself much indisposed. His

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daughter also to be carried on board; then following himself, made sail for the island of Ofoo, with intention of consulting *Alái Váloo*, the tutelar god of his aunt *Toe Oomoo*. They arrived after two hours sail; and immediately, on landing, went and presented cava root to the priest of that god (the name of the priest Mr. Mariner has forgotten). In the mean time the sick child was taken to the god's consecrated house. The company being seated in the presence of the priest, a bowl of cava was presented to him,—when the god said—"It is "in vain that you come here to invoke me "upon a subject on which you have obtained "all the information that it is necessary for "you to know. *Toobó Totái* has already in-"structed you in the will of the gods, and I "can communicate nothing farther." The priest having said this, Finow and his attendants rose up and went their way. In the course of the afternoon the supposed victim of divine vengeance was removed to several other consecrated houses in the same island, and was suffered to remain about half an hour or an hour in each, with the hope that she would derive benefit from the auspices of either of the deities, who were imagined to reside in those places. Removal, however, appeared to make her worse; and at length she was almost

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634 was almost denied to him; one word alone
763 could be clearly distinguished, *fonnooa* (land or country): hence it was supposed that he meant to express his anxiety respecting the mischiefs and disturbances that might happen to the
634 country in the event of his death. After wait-
763 ing a little time, finding he did not get better, the prince, and a young chief named Voogi,
755 went out to procure one of Finow's children
782 by a female attendant, to sacrifice it to the
783 gods, that their anger might be appeased, and the health of its father restored*. They found the child in a neighbouring house, unconsciously sleeping in its mother's lap: they took it away by force, and retiring with it behind an adjacent Fytóca, strangled it, as quickly as possible, with a band of *gnatoo*: they then carried it, with all speed, before two consecrated houses and a grave, at each place hurrying over a short but appropriate prayer to the god to interfere with the other gods in behalf of Finow, and to accept of this sacrifice as an
634 atonement for his crimes. This being done,
763 they returned to the place where Finow lay, but found him with scarcely any signs of life,

* For further particulars respecting this ceremony, see p. 217. The younger Finow used often to express his regret that the gods were so relentless as to require such cruel sacrifices.

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such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival of an European ship, &c. This event therefore produced, as it generally does, considerable anxiety in the minds of the people; and this anxiety was much increased by the dreams of several women. One dreamed that during the time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,) that Vavaoo should shortly experience some great calamity, because the people had neglected some particular and important ceremonies. In this state of the public mind, parties were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual watch, and to bring immediate intelligence of any canoe that might appear. In the course of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga decreased considerably in size, losing flesh every day, although otherwise in good health; it was not long, however, before he began to complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned his relations and attendants to have recourse to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy occasions. Accordingly every day one or other of his young relations had a little finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the

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gods for the sins of the sick man *. These sacrifices, however, were found of no avail;—greater, therefore, were soon had recourse to: and accordingly three or four children were strangled, at different times, in the manner which has already been related; and invocations were made to the deities at *fytocas*, consecrated houses, and in the persons of the priests, but still without effect, for the gods were deaf to their entreaties; and the illness of the sacred chief grew every day more alarming. As a last resource, therefore, to excite the compassion of the deities, they carried the emaciated person of Tooitonga to the place where his provisions were accustomed to be cooked †;

* Nothing is more common in these islands than the sacrifice of a little finger on occasion of the illness of a superior relation: insomuch, that there is scarcely a grown-up person (unless a very great chief, who can have but few superior relations) but who has lost the little finger of both hands. Nor is there ever any dispute between two persons with a view to get exempt from this ceremony; on the contrary, Mr. Mariner has witnessed a violent contest between two children of five years of age, each claiming the favour of having the ceremony performed on him, so little do they fear the pain of the operation: the pain indeed is but very trifling, from the mode, probably, in which it is performed, which will be fully described in another place.

† It must be recollected that this is an act of great humility, that the high and sacred chief of Tonga should resort to the place where his victuals are cooked. See the account of the death of Finow, p. 368.

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the king's family, but very frequently by Tóe Oomoo. He has a large consecrated fencing at Ofoo, one of the islands in the vicinity of Vavaoo: he has, at least, one priest, and is very frequently consulted in behalf of sick persons.

A'LO A'LO; literally, *to fan*. God of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation in general. This god is generally invoked about once a month, if the weather is seasonable, that it may remain so; if the weather is unseasonable, or destructive on shore by excessive wind or rain, he is invoked every day. A'lo A'lo is not the god of thunder and lightning, of which, indeed, there is no god acknowledged among them, as this phenomenon is never recollected to have done any mischief of consequence. In boisterous weather at sea, the superior god Toobo Toty', the protector of canoes, and other sea gods, are always invoked in place of A'lo A'lo. About the time when the yams are full grown (near the latter end of December), the ceremony of *tow tow* begins, consisting in an offering of yams, and other provisions, to the god A'lo A'lo. This ceremony is repeated every ten days, for eight times successively, as will be described under the head of religious rites. This god has only two houses dedicated to him, one at Vavaoo, and the other at Lefooga: he has also two priests, one at each place.

A [the god Ala'i Va'loo--Analyst]

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stantly prevails on these occasions: if a man is knocked down, he rises with a smile; if his arm is broken, he retires to get it set, without seeming to think any thing of it: on the contrary, to be angry, or to fight with the least animosity, would be considered the mark of a very weak mind. After the battle, those who have contended with superior chiefs, or think they may have touched superior chiefs, perform the ceremony of *móëmóë*, to a chief at least as high in rank as any they may have come in contact with.

Every tenth day, as before stated, these ceremonies are repeated for seven or eight successive times. The child that has been mentioned as representing the wife of Alo Alo is generally chosen from among the female chiefs of the higher ranks, and is about eight or ten years old: during the eighty days of this ceremony, she resides at the consecrated house of Alo Alo, where, the day before the first ceremony, a cava party is held, at which she presides, as well as at a feast which follows. She has nothing to do on the actual days of the ceremony, except to come with the deputation and sit down with them.

NAWGIA; or the ceremony of strangling children, as sacrifices to the gods, for the recovery of a sick relation. The blackest cloud

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that obscures the understanding of the Tonga people is surely that which prevents them seeing the unnatural cruelty and absurdity of this practice: we have, however, the most sanguine hopes that "Moloch—horrid king," will not much longer hold his reign in these islands. It is not, we verily believe, from a want of natural feeling, but from an excessive veneration and fear of the gods, created in an æra of great superstition, and now upheld by old practice, that the natives perform these horrible rites. All the by-standers behold the innocent victim with feelings of the greatest pity; but it is proper, they think, to sacrifice a child, who is at present of no use to society, and perhaps may not otherwise live to be, with the hope of recovering a sick chief, whom all esteem, and whom all think it a most important duty to respect, defend, and preserve, that his life may be of advantage to the country. The form of this ceremony is related (Vol. I. p. 217.): other instances on the occasions of Finow's last illness, and that of Tooitonga.

The ceremony of Nawgia, (or strangling), used to be performed upon the chief widow of Tooitonga, on the day of her husband's burial, that she might be interred with him. Two Tooitongas were buried during Mr. Mariner's time; one on his first arrival, and the other,

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(i. e. the last), a few months before he came away. The first of these two, however, had no chief wife, i. e. he had no wife at all, or else none that was of so high a rank as to take the charge of his household, and be the mistress over the others; consequently at his death no such ceremony was performed. The last Tooitonga's wife (the daughter of the late king, and sister of the present) was not subjected to this inhuman rite—thanks to the good sense of the late and present king. When old Finow was living, he used to say, that if Tooitonga died before his wife, she should not be strangled: "What," said he, "is the use of destroying a "young and beautiful woman? Who is there "dares say that the gods are merciless and "cruel? My daughter shall not be strangled!" Tooitonga did not die till the present king came into power, and we have already seen that he not only did not allow his sister to be strangled, but he also did not permit another Tooitonga to succeed. In consequence, it was whispered about, that some great misfortune would happen to the country. At the Fiji islands, the principal wife of every chief, or at least of every considerable chief, undergoes this ceremony on the death of her husband. (See Vol. I. p. 330.)

TOOTOO-NIMA, or cutting off a portion of the

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little finger, as a sacrifice to the gods, for the recovery of a superior sick relation. This is very commonly done; so that there is scarcely a person living at the Tonga islands but who has lost one or both, or a considerable portion of both little fingers. Those who can have but few superior relations, such as those near akin to Tooitonga, or the king, or Veachi, have some chance of escaping, if their relations are tolerably healthy. It does not appear that the operation is painful. Mr. Mariner has witnessed more than once little children quarrelling for the honour (or rather out of bravado) of having it done. The finger is laid flat upon a block of wood: a knife, axe, or sharp stone is placed with the edge upon the line of proposed separation; and a powerful blow being given with a mallet or large stone, the operation is finished. From the nature and violence of the action, the wound seldom bleeds much: the stump is then held in the smoke and steam arising from the combustion of fresh plucked grass: this stops any flow of blood. The wound is not washed for two days; afterwards it is kept clean, and heals in about two or three weeks, without any application whatever. One joint is generally taken off, but some will have a smaller portion, to admit of the operation be-

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ing performed several times on the same finger, in case a man has many superior relations.

Bootoo, or funeral ceremonies. For a partial description of these, reference may be made to the burial of Toobó Nuha; (Vol. I. p. 141.) for a particular one, as it regards the burial of a king, to that of Finow, (chap. 13.)[A] What remains, therefore, principally to be described, are the peculiarities attending the burial of Tooitonga: in the first place, however, we shall give the names of the different parts of the ceremony of burials in general; the modes of all which have been already related in the instance last referred to: the names are these.

Fala, or procuring small stones, (white and black), and sand, to cover the grave.

Tootoo, or burning the persons of the mourners in spots, with lighted rolls of *tápa*.

Lafa: burning the arm in about six places, each in form of five or six concentric circles.

Toogi: beating the cheeks, and rubbing off the cuticle, with cocoa-nut husk, or some sort of plait, wound round the hand.

Foa Ooloo: wounding the head, and cutting the flesh in various parts, with knives, shells, clubs, spears, &c. in honour of the deceased, and as a testimony of respect for his memory and fidelity to his family.

A [See 2: Mariner, cat. 116, pp. 379-444--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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great insight into matters of futurity, he shot it with his musket: but, however, this did not prevent them from going back to their garrison; and several had a full conviction that Mr. Mariner would soon be killed for this sacrilege.

In respect to the charms practised among them, we have also a few words to say. The principal is that called *tatáo*, which has already been described, Vol. I. chap. 14.[A] There are only two other practices which can well come under this head, viz. *cábe*, or rather *vangi*, which means a curse, or a malevolent order or command; and *ta nioo*, a charm to discover whether a sick person will live or die. Of the former, viz. *cábe*, we have given instances (Vol. I. p. 284), from which it will appear that they are chiefly malevolent wishes, or commands, that the object may eat, or otherwise maltreat his relations or gods; and when we come to reflect that they believe in no future place of punishment, but that all human evils are the consequences of crimes, and that disrespect to one's superior relations is little short of sacrilege to the gods, these malevolent commands, however ridiculous some of them may appear to us, amount to the most horrible curses; for if such commands were fulfilled, nothing less than the most dreadful of human miseries would be ex-

A [See 2: Mariner, category 116, pp. 424-425--Analyst]

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pected to fall on the head of the sacrilegious perpetrator. But it is only when a number of curses are repeated in a string, as it were, and pronounced firmly, and with real malevolence, that they are supposed to have any effect; but not even then, if the party who curses is considerably lower in rank than the party cursed. When a whole string is thus uttered, it is properly called *vángi*, and is often to the amount of thirty or forty in number. Mr. Mariner has heard one consisting of eighty maledictions, all disposed in rhyme; the rhyme, however, is not necessary: for a tolerable fair sample of this wonderful charm, the following may be taken: "Dig up your father by "moonlight, and make soup of his bones; bake "his skin to cracknel; gnaw his skull; devour "your mother; dig up your aunt, and cut her "to pieces; feed upon the earth of your grave; "chew the heart of your grandfather; swallow "the eyes of your uncle; strike your god; eat "the gristly bones of your children; suck out "the brains of your grandmother; dress your-"self up in the skin of your father, and tie it on "with the entrails of your mother," &c.&c.&c.

As to the charm of *ta nioo*, it consists in spinning a cocoa-nut with the husk on, and judging by the direction of the upper part, when again at rest, of the object of inquiry, which is chiefly, whether a sick person will recover: for this

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purpose, the nut being placed on the ground, a relation of the sick person determines that, if the nut, when again at rest, points to such a quarter, the east for example, that the sick man will recover: he then prays aloud to the patron god of the family, that he will be pleased to direct the nut, so that it may indicate the truth: the nut being next spun, the result is attended to with confidence, at least with a full conviction that it will truly declare the intentions of the gods at the time. The other occasions in which the spinning of a cocoa-nut is used, is chiefly for amusement, and then no prayer is made, and no degree of credit is attached to the result. The women often spin a cocoa-nut to decide some dispute at a game.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Introductory observations on the state of the healing art in these islands—Their surgical knowledge borrowed from the Fiji islands—Medical skill of a Sandwich islander—The operation of *cawso*, with a case described; regimen; precautions against tetanus—Two cases of tetanus cured by the operation of *tocolosi*—Operation of *boca*, or castration: a man castrates himself—Fractures and luxations—Topical bloodletting—Opening abscesses—Burning and blistering—Friction—Scarification of the tunica adnata—Gun-shot wounds—Amputation—Circumcision—*Ta tatów* at the Tonga islands; at the Fiji islands—The diseases called *cahi* and *palla*—Gonorrhœa—Observations respecting the existence of syphilis at these islands—Gonorrhœa cured by fright in three individuals—*Tona*, a disease similar to the yaws—An eruption on the feet called *gnówooa*—*Fooa*, or elephantiasis—*Momoco*, or general wasting of the flesh—*Feke-feke*, a species of irregular intermittent.

HAVING, in the three preceding chapters, given an account of the state of religion and morals in these islands, we shall now proceed to develope the next most important feature in the description of human habits, and shall therefore endeavour to set forth the state of useful knowledge to which they have arrived. In the first place, we shall treat of the healing art; not only because it stands prominent in

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128 the general history of human science, but be-
755 cause, in all early stages of society, it appears
782 to have a particular connexion with, and often to depend entirely upon, certain religious ceremonies; nor is this to be wondered at, for, seeing that the operations of the animal œconomy are so far involved in mystery, as frequently to escape the scrutinizing search of the most cultivated mind, how can it be otherwise but that a people, among whom the sources of knowledge are scanty, and the opportunities of experiment on the animal œconomy both rare and hazardous, should look to the gods for relief from those miseries which evidently proceed from an unseen hand: a considerable portion of the curative means of these people are, therefore, very naturally, *invocation* and *sacri-*
752 *fice*. Nevertheless, as the animal œconomy is subject to a variety of accidents, the causes and operations of which take place, and pursue their progress, more or less, under the evidence of the external senses, appropriate means of cure are frequently had recourse to, and operative surgery is therefore not in a contemptible state of cultivation.

All the remedies practised among them may
751 very safely be ranked under these three heads,
782 viz. invocation, sacrifice, and external opera-
755 tions: as to internal remedies, they sometimes,
752

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but very seldom, use infusions of a few plants, which produce, however, no sensible effect, either upon the system or upon the disease, and we may readily conceive in how little esteem such remedies are held when the king's daughter, whose life so great pains were taken to preserve, took none of them, nor did any one think of proposing them. The idea of giving these infusions was first taken from the natives of the Fiji islands, who have the repute of being skilful in the management of internal remedies: and though almost all the surgical operations known and practised at the Tonga islands have avowedly been borrowed from the same source, and followed up with a considerable degree of skill and success, yet the Tonga people have generally failed in the former, and for the cure of constitutional ailments depend upon the mercy of the gods, without any interference on their own parts, except in the way of invocation and sacrifice. In such a state of things, it would be natural to suppose that they frequently make use of charms, amulets, &c. to assist in the cure; but this, however, is never done, for they have not the most distant idea of this sort of superstition, which prevails so much over almost all the world, even in the most civilized countries. The natives of the Sandwich islands, however, appear to have a

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remedies twice with very good effect, which encouraged some others to try; but as these circumstances took place only a short time before Mr. Mariner left, and consequently only a few trials had been made, we ought not to speak of them as constituting the medical knowledge of the Tonga people; but as this Sandwich island chief was a man of considerable judgment, and, as Mr. Mariner has every reason to think, a good observer, we indulge the hope that no ill success, at an early period, has destroyed confidence in the adoption of two such useful remedies.

The ceremonies of invocation in behalf of sick people have already been described in the account of the sickness of the late king's daughter: the sacrifices adopted on similar occasions are *tootooni'ma* and *nawgia;* cutting off fingers and strangling children: these also have both been described; the latter is only done for very great chiefs. We shall now proceed to speak of their operative surgery, and constitutional diseases, as far as Mr. Mariner's observation can lead him to speak with accuracy.

No native of Tonga undertakes to practise surgery unless he has been at the Fiji islands, where constant wars afford great opportunities of becoming skilful; and no native of Tonga would employ a surgeon who had not been

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

islands of the Vavau group (14). The Underworld from which the Maui came, and to which they returned, is not, however, spoken of as Pulotu, but simply as Lolofonua. In the Tongan Creation Myth, indeed, Pulotu, the realm of Hikuleo, is distinct from Lolofonua, the abode of the Maui. (15, p. 276).

In Tongatabu, the road or a road—to Pulotu is said to have started from a spot called Haalako, on the weather shore near the village of Foui. This part of the coast faces to the west, and is in the western part of the island. One account would seem to make a pool (*pupu*) the actual entrance to the road, while another account says that the dead go to the water's edge, and jump into the sea. Down below there is said to be a great cave. Before going down to the water's edge the dead tear off a branch from the shrub called uhi (according to Pratt, *Evodia hortensis*) and presumably take the branch with them. This would seem to be the meaning of the expression *haaki ae uhi*, though possibly it might mean to pull the shrub up, or throw it down. In Haapai, however, the plant so used is not the *uhi*, but the toa which is so sturdy a tree that tearing off a branch is the only likely meaning. A road at Niuau nofo, the northwestern point of Tongatabu is named from a clump of coconut trees, according to native tradition where the traveller to Pulotu plucks up a reed, *kaho*. The *uhi*, which is *namu tevolo* (smelling of spirits), is one of the most potent of medicinal plants for curing demonic possession, and for preventing the wandering of ghosts from the graves of the dead (10, pp. 137-139). Thus it may be conjectured that the newly dead take branches of this shrub as a protection against the spirit dangers that await them. An old man told me that he remembered hearing in his childhood the expression "Kuo haaki ae uhi e sii eiki" (The poor chief has broken off the *uhi*) used in connection with a chief who had just died. He added the detail that at the time he heard a noise like that made by a whale beating the sea.

In Eua, which lies a little south of the extreme easterly point of Tongatabu, the road to Pulotu is said to commence in the sea between Eua and the tiny islet Kalau, just off the southern end of Eua. In Haapai the road to Pulotu seems to start in the crater of the volcanic island of Tofua, which, with the splendid cone of Kao standing close beside it, forms the western extremity of that group. "Kuo haaki ae toa" is said of the soul which makes its way to Pulotu by jumping into the crater of Tofua. Toa trees are planted about many cemeteries, though not by any means confined to such positions. They are "chiefly" trees, well suited to adorn any road or compound to which it is desired to give an aspect of nobility.

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For 'tis a land of women's talk.
Ah indeed, I am grieved in secret;
Take thought what we shall do,
We are weary of fear,
Rejoicing in the king we have got;
I am but punished.
Pluck down Alotolu,[a]
And Toloa and Humu.
Awake wind from Tufuhu,[a]
Breathe gently all winds,
Sing wind of the north,
The south wind, and wind below Kalau,[a]
And gleam the town that thunders for war;[a]
The sea moans on Teuhie and Kaloafu.[a]
The Kailakulaku has put out[a]
That they may shatter regiments,
That without rival he be king,
And that we live under his justice.[a]
Io ahi a, but he is good,[a]
A chief of exceeding kindness;
His dear beauty and brightness[a]
In the cave, the hollow in Tukitou.
False reliance is voyaging [with him],
And the correctness of a maimed hand.[a]
Let none speak to me,
Forbidden the murmur, taken to Toku.[a]
My love to the King,
Let be, farewell Tongatabu.
A-he, voyaging [together] will be broken down.[a]

RHYMES FOR GAMES

Hiko

A favorite game of the Tongan girls (*hiko*), consists in juggling oranges. The girls become remarkably expert, and it is no uncommon thing to see five or six oranges kept in the air. The players sit in a little ring, and as one breaks down she passes the oranges on to her neighbor. The games are scored by means of these rhymes, and doubtless others, which are almost as unintelligible to the Tongan as the *ecny, deeny, diny, do* of English children is to them. Interesting words, however, are preserved, for example, Savaiki in the eighth line of the first rhyme.

The game *hiko* was under the special patronage of the god Fehuluni, of whose origin Gifford gives an account (22, pp. 153-155). It was tapu to play *hiko* at night. If the tapu were disregarded Fehuluni would be angry, and come and take the offender's eyes, and play *hiko* with them. Fehuluni is said to have visited mortal men and women, in the guise of a beautiful woman or of a handsome man. Men who embraced Fehuluni in female shape became sick, and some died; while women who became pregnant to the male Fehuluni were unable to bring forth. Sometimes, but not always, remedies were of avail, inducing a bleeding which was followed by restored health. Fehuluni is said also to have appeared with the face veiled by the top of the head, which seems inconsistent with the beauty attributed to him, though it is admitted that his appearance was not always beautiful. Each of these rhymes marks an *ulu* (game). To go right through the piece marks one *ulu*. The players agree beforehand how many *ulu* there are to be in the match. If, as between two players, one breaks down at some point within the *ulu*, and then her opponent also breaks down; the first player is allowed to continue at the point at which she erred, and if she completes the *ulu* her opponent must start at the beginning, and is beaten unless she goes right through at this second attempt.

that many types of sickness are due to ghostly visitants.[26] To deal with these ghosts, Tongan methods are more likely to bring about cures than the white man's science. The following treatments were compiled for us by one of the village medicine-men. They are given here, not as a complete survey of the village medical knowledge, but as indicating the sort of techniques that medicine men use in their day to day practice in the village.

Headache: There are two main types of treatment: (a) Massage the head with a mixture of six *uhi* leaves crushed and mixed with coconut-oil; observe also the following rules: keep the head covered, do not go out in the wind, keep away from the sun and the sea; (b) Stamp on the ground three times; then place the feet on a mat and stamp again. Repeat this procedure five times in succession. This treatment is advisable if it is thought that the headache is caused by a ghost. The ghost is likely to drop from the body with the repeated shaking.

Earache: If the earache appears to be caused by an abscess or inflammation, massage the region of the ear gently with six *nonu* leaves. On the other hand, should there be no signs of external irritation, then dip the finger in coconut-oil and poke the oil deep into the ear.

Mouthache: Spread coconut-oil over the back of the mouth and palate, then rinse out the mouth three times with water.

Toothache: (a) Smear coconut-oil on the cheek in the region of the aching tooth; (b) Place a small piece of Tongan tobacco on the aching tooth; (c) Take scrapings from the bark of the *angoango* tree, strain them through the stipule of the coconut-tree and drink the liquid; (d) Collect twenty-four *takafulu* leaves, pound them and drink the resulting juice.

Sore eyes: Take six *hulala* leaves, pound them, then dip a piece of bark cloth into the liquid and squeeze out into the sore eye.

[26] Notes on the conceptual basis of Tongan disease are given in a short paper by Collocott, "Sickness, Ghosts and Medicine in Tonga," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 32 (1923) 136-142.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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757 824 *Stomach-ache:* (a) To the liquid from twelve pounded *nonu* leaves add three drops of coconut-oil, strain through coconut-stipule and drink with water; (b) Mix scrapings from the bark of the *mohokia* tree and of the *kea* breadfruit tree with water, and drink; (c) For a laxative, add water to the scraped bark of the *fa'efa'elunga* tree and drink; (d) Massage the abdomen with four leaves from the fig-tree.

Boils: (a) Crush bark scrapings from the *nonu* tree and smear on the inflamed area after mixing with crushed *koka* leaves; (b) For spots on a baby's skin, pound or chew the leaves of the *fekika* tree, mix with water. Dip coconut-stipule in this liquid and squeeze the liquid into the baby's mouth.

Coughs: Scrape the bark of the *toa* tree or the *tava* tree, add water to the scrapings and drink the liquid.

[752] *Cuts:* (a) Take the husk of the immature green coconut, heat it until it is warm, then squeeze out drops of liquid from the husk over the cut; (b) Crush the bark of the *fale* tree or the leaves of the *tamatama* tree, dip a piece of bark cloth in this juice and squeeze over the cut.

752 *Broken bones:* Apply a splint made from a section of the sheath of the coconut-tree to the broken limb and bathe the fracture night and morning with hot water.

757 *"Body-breaks":* Whenever there is pain in the upper part of the body, in the chest, lungs or back for instance, this pain is attributed to an obscure internal "breakage" in the body. Treatment: Add two drops of coconut-oil to some hot water and massage the seat of the pain with this liquid. In addition, mix the scraped bark of the *lekileki* tree with water and drink night and morning immediately after the massage [755] is finished. For a backache, standing on one foot several times each day is also recommended.

757 759 The remedies just given are the secret recipes of one medicine-man only. Other experts have their own variations on these fundamental techniques of herbal and massage-treatment. The sick person will consult the experts in succession until one or other provides the treatment that effects the cure. It is of considerable advantage to the expert to know the acts likely to have caused the sickness,

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753 Sickness was regarded as a sign of divine disfavour, as it frequently
784 is to-day. Christianisation has to a certain extent meant the shifting of old conceptions to a new set of supernatural beings. Some illnesses
[797] are regarded as possession by a maleficent sprite, who can be massaged
[755] and pummelled out of the system by a skilled practitioner. Of the old
[776] gods some had their specialities, much as mortals have, though the range of functions was generally very wide.

Often, especially in prayers for the healing of sickness, bodily
782 mutilation was resorted to as a sacrifice, and in extreme instances a
755 victim was slain. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl in the hope that the god would be pleased to restore the great Vavau chief Finau to health. There is still living a man whose mother saw, and described to him, the strangling of a man as an offering to the important god Bulotu Katoa to ensure the recovery of a great Tui Haatakalaua chief. The victim, with his two executioners, got under a large piece of native cloth, which was held down by people standing on the edges. The unfortunate man was strangled and then taken to Bulotu Katoa's shrine, and two days later the chief on whose behalf all this trouble was taken breathed his last. There was a similarly unsatisfactory ending to Mariner's story of human sacrifice. One informant tells me, in reference to such sacrifice to the god Toko-i-Moana, that the persons expected to mutilate their little fingers were
[601] the family of the brothers of the sick person's mother. (Such terms as brother and mother are misleading if understood in the English sense. For instance, mother and mother's sister, including certain female cousins, are all called by the same term, and the system is followed through to its furthest discoverable limits). I have no doubt that these were the persons generally expected to undergo this altruistic operation, as they represent the branch of the family over
782 which one enjoys superiority. I am told that amongst an earlier
755 generation of Tongans it was comparatively rare to find anyone who lived a long life with both little fingers intact. There is still living an
178 old gentleman who has lost in this way the top joint of his right-hand little finger. But he is now a curiosity, so much so that one can hardly begin talking to a native to-day on those topics without presently seeing him lift up his right hand and start truculently feeling his little finger with his left hand. All the while you see in his face the eager expression of a man who has something he wishes to ease his mind of, and at the first opening comes the inevitable query, "Do you know so-and-so?" As I happen to know the old gentleman fairly well, and have shaken the mutilated hand, the sacrificial digit has lost something of its novelty. However, the owner of the finger is far advanced in life, and in the ordinary course of nature it cannot be very many years before this, one of the few remaining links with the old order, will be beyond the possibility of observation.

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god of carrying away, or who carries away, but I have heard no reason for his being thus dubbed. His sacred animal was the pretty little blue and green lizard called by the Tongans *pili*.

Tau-ki-bulotu was the god of Haa-Mene-uli, a part of Niutoua, in the east of Tongatabu. No sacred animal is known, the deity manifesting himself through his priestess, Teletele.

Vai-uka also had his seat near Niutoua, but across the border in the Tui Tonga district of Labaha (same word as the Fijian Lambasa). He was the god of the Haa-Mofuta. Mofuta will be remembered as occurring in the name of a neighbouring deity, Mofuta-ne-ta'u.

This god had no special temple, but the priest was consulted in his own home. There was, however, a sacred grove near which becoming silence must be preserved. The hard black volcanic pebbles, valued on account of their durability as heating stones for the ovens, and also used in the adornment of graves, were sacred to him, and the ground within the grove was strewn with these votive offerings. These pebbles must of course be brought from one of the distant volcanic islands. Vai Uka was much resorted to by the sick. The priest stroked the seat of affliction with the happiest results. It is not clear how far these cures can claim to be supernatural, as such soothing massage is still a regular part of Tongan medical practice. The god's pharmacopœia is strongly parallel too to the healing art of mere mortals in its employment of a liniment whose manufacture and use are far from being divine secrets.

Tui Olotau, King of Olotau, god of Olotau, the piece of ground on which stands the well-known trilithon, the Haamonga-a-Maui (The Burden carried on the Shoulders of Maui), in the eastern part of Tongatabu. His sacred animal was the sea-snake, which is also connected with Hemoana. If a sea-snake were seen ashore the people knew that it was no ordinary sea-snake, but the god.

The *kalae*, a rail sacred to the Tui Tonga. I have not been able to find out the name of the inspiring deity. The worshippers of this bird used to take about with them a bunch of *kalae*, and, as already mentioned, the priest had one of these bunches tattooed on his throat.

This bird's crying at night was an omen of death, and in this connection he was called by the sinister name of *Fata*, the Bier. The home near which he was heard would be the scene of death, and as he flew away the direction from which his note was heard was an indication of the situation of the cemetery in which the dead would be buried. Either through a strange coincidence, or through this bird being in some way attracted by serious illness, the monotonous cry of the *kalae* in unusual numbers added to the dreariness of the nights in November, 1918, when the whole of Nukualofa was filled with the sick and dying, struck down by the wave of pneumonic influenza.

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buried in the rather imposing terraced native vaults in Uiha. There was some question as to whether the king himself should not be buried there, as doubtless he would have been if old native custom had been observed, but one of the outward symbols of recent Europeanisation is a royal burial ground in Nukualofa, in which cement takes the place of the great coral slabs cut from the reef with which the tomb of an ancient chief was built up. Before his conversion to Christianity Tubou I. worshipped Toke-i-Moana, whose sacred animal is, as the name implies, the sea-eel. A temple was built for him in Uiha. The sick were taken to Toke-i-Moana and sometimes cured, and sometimes not, after the customary tribute of finger had been collected from an unfortunate relative. There is the usual *tabu* against eating the flesh of the god or approaching a place where it is being prepared as food.

Jinilau is the son of a woman who used, in going out to fish on the reef, always to turn her back to the rising sun, and at length conceived by that luminary, the fruit of this extraordinary marriage being Jinilau, who is spoken of as the god of beauty. Exceptionally handsome persons were called Jinilau, their attractive appearance being regarded as the gift of the god.

Jinilau married Hina, but before the marriage took place the poverty of the god and his mother made the procuring of appropriate adornment to grace the occasion a matter of no small difficulty. The mother, however, solved the question by telling Jinilau to go to his father the Sun and secure his assistance, adding that he must go to him very early in the morning. Jinilau slept too long, and the sun was already above the horizon before the dilatory groom reached him and preferred his request. After a few grumbling remarks about his son's coming to him when he was right up where all the world could be witnesses of their conversation the old gentleman drew a cloud across between them and the eyes of prying mortals, and they had a cosy secluded chat, with no doubt results satisfactory to Jinilau. Hence arise the light clouds which frequently fleck the horizon at sunrise.

There is also an old myth in which Jinilau figures as lord of Akaua in Samoa (Folk-Lore," Vol. I., page 94). The Mangaian and Maori Tiniran is lord of fishes, and this Samoan Jinilau has also special connection with the fish, the Tongan story agreeing with the Maori in representing him as lending a whale to Kae, which Kae treacherously killed, and was afterwards slain himself to expiate the crime. In the Tongan story there are two whales, called Tonga and Tununga, relatives of Jinilau, which are lent to Kae to take him to his home in Tonga. By the treachery of Kae, Tununga is killed but Tonga, sadly scarred, returns to Jinilau, and relates the fate of his companion. The attendants of Jinilau thereupon go to Tonga and bear Kae back to Samoa whilst he is asleep, and there he is slain. Tununga had

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775 787 dead may cause much trouble to the living. The poor ghost longs for companionship that it has lost, and wanders forth to seek its old friends, and induce them to come with it. It enters, or approaches, the body of a living friend, usually by the way a hysterical woman, and she may become so violent and excited that several people are required to hold her. A girl in this condition gave a man a good bite in the side; but this exhibition of her powers did not deter him from afterwards marrying her. Perhaps the possessed woman may lie inert, taking no notice of what is said to her. She may tell the onlookers that so-and-so wants her to go with her. One way of treating the trouble is to knead the patient with the knuckles, to press the intruder out. I know a man who chased a ghost round the body of a woman with hot-water packs.

775 753 [761] [774] Fainting fits may be due to the attentions of ghosts. A person in a faint is said to be *mate*, dead. I have heard an unconscious child spoken of as distant, or away; apparently the soul was away.

775 755 757 787 Massage is not the only remedy. There are leaves which are potent layers of ghosts. Tongan treatment is homœopathic, and the effective leaves have a strong smell. They are said to *namu tevolo*, smell like a ghost or spirit; consequently they have the power of scaring off ghosts. A decoction is made of the leaves, and the juice pressed into ears, eyes, nostrils and mouth, and perhaps rubbed on the body. Ghosts cannot pass the barrier thus set up. There seems to be no apprehension lest the ghost be imprisoned inside the patient. When the patient weeps quietly that is a sign of recovery. Her tears are in sorrowful farewell to her dead friend who is leaving her.

Procedure is simplified by the patient's telling the name of the ghost. The sick girl may not herself know who it is that is so unkindly affectionate, but sometimes she sees the ghost in a dream or in a waking vision, or recognises its voice. Armed with this 775 769 identification of the intruder, friends visit the grave, and beseech the dead to leave the living alone. There in not a set form of words to be used; respectful remonstrance, threat, anything is in order that may be supposed to be effective. Sometimes the grave is opened and medicine leaves put on the body. A very drastic remedy is to pour boiling sea-water on the grave, though this is not necessarily more effective than turning the bones about and mixing them up. If the head is put where the feet ought to be, and the legs where one would expect to find the head, the cleverest ghost is unable to get itself 775 sorted out and in shape for walking. Ghostly visitations are not always an occasion of sickness. They may be manifested in mysterious lights. People are rather ashamed of having their dead relatives walking about. Neighbours are inclined to judge harshly, and to conclude that the spirit is failing to make good its entry into heaven, and is exhibiting a not unnatural reluctance to take the final

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plunge into the other place. Tongans are of course unaware of the amiable company that Mr. Bernard Shaw assures us is there. 775

The solicitations of dead friends does not at all exhaust the possibilities of ghostly interference with the health of the living. Almost any sickness may as well be due to ghosts as to anything else. A girl who lives with a European family in a place where there is a good deal of bush about, happened to cough in the presence of a wise old lady, and was submitted to the following diagnostic examination. "Do you cough much?" "Yes, I cough a good deal." "Do you sleep by yourself?" "Yes, I have a room to myself." "In the dark?" "Yes." "Ah, that is it. In the bush, by yourself, in the dark. Ghosts. Now what you must do is to put a tent of native-cloth round your bed, and sleep inside that with a lighted lamp." 775 753

Writers have commented on the simplicity of ghosts, and indeed they seem pretty easy to deceive. A precaution that is not without tender pathos is sometimes taken with women who die in childbirth, or whilst they have a child at the breast. A *tappa* mallet is laid on the dead woman's arm, so that she may suppose that her babe is with her, and so rest peacefully and not go and take her child away. But in spite of all precautions a ghost sometimes breaks through our guards. A man goes to sleep in apparently robust health, and in the morning is found dead. A ghost has come in the night and throttled him, and witnesses are not wanting to testify to marks on his throat. Such a death would perhaps be attributed to conduct which had offended the ghosts. 775 [764] 775 761

In earlier days it was extremely common to sacrifice a joint of the little finger on behalf of a sick friend, and in the case of a high chief who was seriously ill a human victim might be offered. Mariner describes the sacrifice of a little girl on behalf of the chief Finau, and I have myself spoken to a man whose mother was an eye-witness of the sacrifice of a man to secure the recovery of a sick chief. In both cases the victim was strangled, and in both cases, too, the patient dishonoured the remedy by dying. 782 165 755

Besides the wide and indefinite number of sicknesses attributable to the misguided affection or malevolence of spirits, a very large range of disorders is classified as *fasi*, a breaking. There seems to be an analogy with the known phenomena of broken bones and strained muscles. The sprains which are amenable to the excellent massage are called twisted sinew, but these supposed breakings are most varied in character, and as indefinite as the illnesses resulting from the pranks of ghosts. The aches caused by lung troubles are supposed to be caused by some sort of internal rupture, and treated accordingly; both internal and externally. As as cure for an aching back massaging is likely to prove effective, even if the decoctions of 752 753

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
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752 753 leaves that are drunk tend rather to poison the patient than to assist his cure; but applied to pneumonia, pleurisy, or consumption, the method is disastrous. The ideas which direct the healer are of the haziest. I once questioned a man, an intelligent man to boot, who was a noted healer in this genre, as to the type of disorder which he treated. I said that I could understand that a broken bone, or even a strained muscle might be spoken of as a rupture, but what sort of a break was that which made a man have a pain in his chest. What was broken or strained? "It's just a break," he said, and that was all about it. I don't think he was guarding professional secrets through fear of a possible rival.

The rupture that causes the trouble may not be recent, but a little judicious questioning does not fail to identify at last the incident to which the blame attaches. A forgotten fall, or the lifting of a heavy weight, is recalled; "Ah, that is it."

753 827 A third great class of sicknesses embraces boils and ulcers and rashes and skin diseases generally, as well as swellings and tumours. These external complaints have individual names, but the class name, *kangatamaki*, is applied with the usual vagueness to diseases external and internal. A specially severe sickness of this sort is "various thing," an internal complaint, in which a mixture of troubles are present, together with a roving commission which enables them to attack different parts of the body simultaneously or successively.

755 757 The medicines for this type of disease seems to have a special virulency, or to be specially suitable for witchcraft. Medicines in general have the power of causing the sickness which they cure. A girl had a swelling on her abdomen which was cured by a woman, but the girl's brother afterwards had a swelling on the neck. This was caused by the medicine which had cured the girl. A woman was once sitting quietly in church, when all at once she commenced to cough. She coughed, and coughed, and presently felt something in her mouth. She put up her hand and grasped it. It was smooth and round. She thought it was the end of her bowels! She pulled, and the thing came away in her hand, and she cast it from her on the floor—a big, strange, hairy worm. Then she gathered it up in her handkerchief. In spite of her fright, she evidently felt strong proprietary rights in the creature, and would have resented anyone else picking it up; "If I can't pick it up, who can?" The sagacious suggestion was made to drown the animal in medicine, and so make a potion able to cure a similar disorder should it ever reappear. But the worm would not drown. It was thrown into various medicines, but throve in them all, and at last was cast into the fire and burnt. Thus science, on the verge of discovery, was again baffled.

Since medicines have the power of causing the ills they cure they must be treated properly. Unauthorised meddling with medicine

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
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is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European, though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
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753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native [302] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring [758] a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised, are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

selves of medical Missionary skill: while, at the same time, they have confessed to the general efficacy of the treatment received, by the entire abandonment of many of the quackeries of their own professional doctors.

These Tonguese doctors, or *kau faitoo*, were a distinct class who confined the knowledge of their art to their own families, and thus made the employment, which was lucrative, hereditary. The practice they followed was a combination of sorcery, and superstitious ceremony, with the administration of herbal medicines, or the external application of medicated oils, or pounded leaves. Unquestionably, their knowledge of the medicinal properties of herbs was considerable; but, not unfrequently, fatal results ensued from their prescriptions. Sometimes, in heathen days, these occurred by design, and at all times their administration might be accompanied by serious accident. For the sake of securing greater secrecy, the herbs are often gathered during the darkness of night. Henco cases have been known, in which a deadly poison has thus become mixed with the intended medicine, and the patient has been destroyed. For the relief of local pain, the natives are great believers in the soothing and curative powers of proper external manipulation and friction, as well as in a liberal depletion, by small gashes, made over the afflicted part, after the style of "cupping." In rheumatic affections, and pains of a kindred nature, the natives employ medicated embrocations, which, I believe, are similar to those mentioned by Dr. Seemann as in use among the Fijians.*

In setting limbs, a few of the Tonguese doctors

* "Viti," by Dr. Seemann, p. 340.

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

The form of cousin marriage most favored is that of a man to his mother's brother's daughter, though other forms are possible. None of these relationship terms must be understood as connoting necessarily the same closeness of connection as in English. Cousin marriages are more common amongst chiefs than amongst the rank and file, and it is said indeed that when such marriages occur amongst the people it is in imitation of the chiefs. 582 605 [565]

Considering the social status of women the foregoing tabu between brother and sister may be part of the general system wherein the superior is tabu to the inferior, though old legends make it more probable that, at least in comparatively ancient times, the safeguard was against incest as such, though this is not in itself necessarily the explanation of the origin of the very stringent Tongan sentiment against marriage of close relatives. With reference to the expression "close relatives" a Tongan once remarked to me, "We count as closely kin those whose common ancestry is even four generations back." 784 562 584 [554]

A tabu still regarded is that of not eating or drinking the remains of food or drink of a superior. The penalty for the violation of this rule is a sore throat, which can, however, be cured by being stroked by the superior whose victuals have caused the trouble, or by one of still higher rank. A person suffering from a sore throat, which he suspects to have been caused in this way, will take a short cut to cure by resorting at once to the highest chief available. In earlier days the cure used to be effected by an application of the chief's foot to the sore spot, but the hand has been found equally efficacious and is now usually employed. Should anyone desire to help himself from the platter of a superior the unseen powers may be cheated by a little simple collusion. After the inferior has helped himself to the tabued viands an immediate application of the superior's hand will ward off all unpleasant consequences. It is in the item of drinking a coconut after another that this tabu seems to be most regarded, possibly because sharing a coconut is fairly common, but more probably because the coconut, being completely closed round but for one small opening, is a peculiarly fit receptacle to retain the influence emanating from the drinker. A similar idea to this is found in Fiji and will be noted later. 784 554 264 753 755 [272] [171]

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

as a sign that if they met a certain man wearing a ragged loin-cloth they would know that they had to expect opposition. During the time when Taufaahau (King George I) was hesitating between Christianity and heathenism a shark came alongside the boat in which he was one day sailing. He seized his spear and made his throw an augury. If he missed, the shark was the god Taufa-tahi (Taufa of the Sea), but if his aim went true then it was just a shark. He missed, and thereupon threw into the sea two native Christians who were with him. The ancient Tui Tonga, Kauulufonua, in the midst of his victorious career, declared on the eve of battle that in the coming fight his followers should know whether his prowess were the effect of his own might or of the protection of a god. If he were wounded in front he owed his victories to the god, but, if behind, to himself. The event showed that he owed his successes to his own courage and skill.

Mariner relates that the spinning of a coconut and observing its position when again at rest was a common method of interrogating the unknown, particularly as to the fate of sick persons. An instance of this has already been mentioned.

WITCHCRAFT

Something has been said of magic when speaking of tabu, but a few further notes may be added. A non-malevolent but extremely disgusting example of sympathetic magic was related to me by a friend. On one occasion whilst he was at sea and exceedingly sea-sick an old native, unable any longer to endure the sight of his distress, begged to be allowed to drink his vomit as a sure way of checking his sufferings. In my friend's case the mere suggestion threatened to be effective by depriving him once and for all of all the organs by virtue of which a man can be sea-sick.

But given magic there naturally follows man's effort to gain magical control over his fellows. The usual terms applied to the black art in Tonga are *hangatamaki* and *fakalouakau*. An excellent note on the former term is contained in Mr. Murley's manuscript. He points out that the word hangatamaki, which is very freely used in descriptions of illness, covers a large range of disorders, principally of the

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boil and ulcer sort; that further there are different individuals who specialize in the cure of different diseases. Should a man desire, for example, to put a tabu on his plantation, he will go to a person who has the reputation of being able to cure some sort of hangatamaki with the request that this medicine man (or woman) assist him with his art. The practitioner then makes up little bundles of medicine and hangs them about the premises it is desired to protect. Should anyone, even the owner, dare to break the tabu and touch anything on the property he will be afflicted with the special hangatamaki in which the medicine man consulted specializes, who again is alone able to cure these punitive visitations, which he will be quite ready to do—for a consideration. When it is desired to remove the tabu the owner and the medical practitioner together go and take down the packages. The practice of putting a plantation under the protection of a shark god has already been mentioned.

In 1917 a man died in Tonga as the result of the black art as practised on him by a man of Fiji. In this case the witchcraft was described by the term fakalouakau, that is "by a leaf," or "making a leaf." It seems that a year or two previously the unfortunate victim had been on a visit to Fiji, and had been put under the spell of fakalouakau by a native of that country. Report hath it that contemporaneously with the death of the Tongan the maleficent Fijian also met his own end. One method of practising fakalouakau is to get something which has been in close contact with the person on whom it is desired to operate, e.g., nail-parings, and wrap it up and bury it. As the buried object rots a sympathetic disease will appear in the victim. One man in discussing these matters drew his examples entirely from Fiji. He said that in Fiji a man would take a piece of young leaf shoot and chew it, muttering the while the name of the person he wished to injure. It is dangerous for anyone to come in contact with such a fragment of leaf after it has been spat out; and the basket in which the Tongan medicine to cause the hangatamaki is kept is likewise a source of peril. This man added the further information regarding the black art amongst his neighbors of the Fiji group that there one may cause foot trouble in an enemy by stabbing his foot-prints. A Fijian after drinking a coconut should

643 commoners' blood, the wives of the *Tu'i Tonga* were
[644] most often chosen from among the families of powerful chiefs or else from among foreigners, and his principal wife received the distinguished title,
[755] *Moheofo.* It was not unusual for small children to be
[782] sacrificed as an appeal for the gods' merciful intervention in the event of the *Tu'i Tonga*'s illness.

649 Upon the death of the *Tu'i Tonga,* every
766 individual in the Kingdom had his head shaved, and quite elaborate mourning rites took place, including the burial of certain individuals with the monarch's
[784] body. For about eight months following the death
[262] of the *Tu'i Tonga,* there was such extensive feasting and mourning that a taboo (chiefs, only, exempted) had to be imposed upon certain staples like coconuts and hogs in order to prevent a food shortage; the taboo was lifted at the end of the

[p. 28-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 298]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

God consultation was a solemn rite before the coming of Christianity. This engraving (1827) depicts people on Tongatapu gathered in front of the house where a priest is beseeching the gods for mercy in the cure of the sick child at left in the photo.

'I he kuonga mu'a, na'e fu'u malohi 'aupito 'a e faito'o fakalotu. Ko e ta fakatata eni na'e fai 'i Tongatapu 'i he 1827 lolotonga ha kole 'a ha fa'ahikehe pe taula'eiki ki he 'otua ke ne tapuaki'i mo fakamo'ui 'a e tamasi'i valevale 'aia 'oku ha mei he tafa'aki to'ohema 'o e ta.

[p. 40-c]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

787 of reasons, for example, before going on a long journey, prior to deciding on battle strategies, or
782 more commonly, in the event of illness.[20] One quite prevalent early ritual, called *tutunima,* involved the
755 amputation of a joint of the little finger as a sacrifice to the gods for the recovery of a sick
[175] relative or chief. Anders Sparrman, the physician aboard *H.M.S. Resolution* with Captain Cook, noted in 1773 while visiting Tonga: "In these islands we found scarcely one person of either sex or any age

[p. 42-C]

782 who had not lost one or more finger joints."[21] Interestingly enough, Mariner witnessed two 755 five-year-old children in the 1800's actually [175] competing for the privilege of having a finger amputated in the *tutunima* ritual.[22]

782 Another ceremonial rite of early Tonga which was performed out of awe and deference to the gods was *no'osia,* i.e. strangling a human being as a sacrificial 782 offering. In days gone by, *no'osia* was done either 783 for the recovery of a sick person, or whenever the [755] gods had been offended and thus needed appeasement. For example, in the case of the latter, if the sacredness of a burial place was violated (say,

[p. 43-A]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

but by the hand of Providence, and the consequence of a refusal was a proof of his being guilty.[1]

SATURDAY 5*th*. In the Morning of the 5th the day of the Eclipse, the Weather was dark and Cloudy with showers of rain so that we had little hopes of an observation. About 9 oclock the Sun broke out at intervals for about half an hour after which it was wholy obscured till within a Minute or two of the begining of the Eclipse. Every one was at their Telescopes viz. Mr Bailey, Mr King, Captain Clerke, Mr Bligh and my self; I lost the observation by not having a dark glass at hand sutable to the Clouds that were continually passing over the Sun[2] and Mr Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his Telescope, so that it was only observed by the other three gentlemen and by them with an uncertainty of severl secconds, and was as follows, viz.

by Mr Bailey at	11h..46'..23½"	Apparent time
Mr King	11 ..46 ..28	
C. Clerke	11 ..47 ..05	

Mr Bailey and Mr King observed with the Acromatic Telescopes belonging to the Boa[r]d of Longitude of equal Magnifying powers, Captn Clerke obser[v]ed with one of the Reflectors. The Sun appeared at intervals till about the middle of the Eclipse, after which it was seen no more during the day, so that the end was not observed; it was of little consequence sence the Longitude was more than sufficiently determined independant of this Eclipse, by Lunar observations as will be mentioned hereafter. As soon as we knew the Eclipse to be over, pa[c]ked up the Instruments, took down the observatorys and sent every thing aboard we had a shore. And as no one had taken the least notice or care of the three sheep I gave to Mariwaggy I to[ok] them aboard also lest after we were gone the Dogs should destroy them; for altho' they had not a dog on the Island in 1773 when I first visited it, they have now got a good many, partly from the breed I left and partly from some they got from a neighbouring island c[a]lled *Fidgee*.[3] The dogs however at present had not extended

[1] The royal bowl, however, was versatile. Common people could be cured of sickness by having the stomach rubbed with it.

[2] '. . . the tents and observatories were continued ashore on account of the eclipse of the Sun, July 5th—and here we hoped to gain some credit by displaying our skill in prophecy, as Columbus had on a similar occasion, but these expectations were defeated by the cloudiness of the weather which rendered the eclipse visible only at times through a Telescope.'—Burney.

[3] Fiji, from Viti, the main island of the group.—'. . . there is little fear of the Goats, as they breed fast & require no care, & one of the she goats was with young; these things have also an advantage, that there are very few dogs; we imagin'd for a long time, that they had none, but what bred from a dog & a bitch left by C. Cook the last Voyage, but the great age of some we saw, made us against our inclinations give up the honour of supplying them with this domestic animal; & believe them that the first dogs they had

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

but not many of the latter except what is made so by art, for they have a method of staining it so that we frequently see different colours on the same head.[1] The Women in general wear it short, but the men have it in various forms, according to fancy, it is not very uncommon to see a man with the hair cut of one half of his head and on the other half very long. When I was first at these islands, I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and Women to wear it short, and at that time I did not see above one or two exceptions, but now we saw a great many. To have the hair croped, does not arrise from custom wholy, it is a Mark of Mourning, both general and particular.[2] The amputation of the little finger and cuting, or pricking the face over the Cheek bone with a sharks tooth is done on the same account.[3] And besides this, some tho not many, inflect upon themselves a testimony of their regret for the loss of a friend or relation, *Wounds* which from the scars that remained, must have been deep and to all appearence dangerous; so that at first we thought they had been wounds received in battle. They frequently anoint thier heads and bodies with Cocoanut oil, but as it is very pure and never rancid, no disagreeable smell arises from this Custom. They have the same custom of staining their bodies as is practised at Otaheite, and with very little variation either in the Manner or Method. Thier Kings as a Mark of destinction are exempted from this custom and also from practiseing any of those bloody marks of Mourning.

Thier clothing consists of cloth, or Matting, but mostly the former,

[1] Cf. II, p. 267. Anderson elaborates on this. A

[2] 'When a chief died, all his *tua* retainers "cut" (singed) off their hair as a sign of mourning (*tauangaa*). The hair was not "bobbed", but was removed quite close to the scalp. . . . chiefs are said never to have cut their hair as a sign of mourning, except upon the death of the Tui Tonga or Tamaha . . .'—Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 199. For Gifford's 'tua retainers' read 'kin lower in rank than the deceased'.

[3] The maltreatment of the face was certainly mourning; but neither Cook nor any of his men, except Anderson and King, ever seem to have hit on the significance of the amputation or partial amputation of the finger, as a sacrificial or intercessory rite for the life of a sick person. With Bayly, 17 May, indeed we get a triumph of misinformation, worth printing as an example of how far it is possible to go wrong: 'These people cut off the little finger of the right hand at the death of a Father or brother with this difference for a brother they cut off only one joint—but when the father dies they cut off the whole finger; When a sister dies they cut off one joint of the little Finger of the left hand, but at the death of a Mother they cut off the whole finger. For other relations they cut their hair short, & beate the cheake-bone with their knuckles till the blood run which they smear about the face & body where it remains some days & then wash themselves & the mo[u]rning is over.' King gives us sense: 'The rigour of their mourning at once shews that their Affections do not cease at the Grave & that they consider death as a great evil, for the mutilation of the little finger is as a propitiation to avert the consequences in themselves or chiefs of sickness; besides the Tooge of the men, burnt circles on the Arms of the women & their hair cut short, on the death of their relations they beat out their teeth with stones, thrust spears thro the inner part of the thigh, in the sides, below the Armpits & thro the Cheeks, whether all this can wholly arise from Affection or superstitious notions I cannot say.'

A [See 55: Anderson, this file--Analyst]

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 0U9 Tonga Vava'u Pangai 0U9

she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed-blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu. Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the patient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to celebrate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

Summary

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched

77: Whitcombe OU9 Tonga OU9

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[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192, pp. 14-19.]

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

Toa. An emetic. The trunk of the tree is scraped and the juice extracted from the pulp. 278
The trunk of the tree is scraped and roasted to make *vai pala* (a medicine). 757

Toi. For *faka avaga* (one possessed of the evil spirit). The trunk of the tree is scraped to obtain the juice. 824 192

Tono. For dysentery (*tutuutoto*). (See *milo i tahi.*)
For *faka avaga.* (See *lautolu.*)

Toto. For children with fever, stiffness of jaws, or fixed eyes. The trunk of the tree is scraped and pounded to extract the juice for a drink.

Toume. For wounded eyes. The dried sheath of the coconut flower (*toume*) is lighted and held by the native doctor. The patient is told to gaze into a coconut shell filled with sea water until he sees the reflection of the burning *toume* held above. As soon as he sees this reflection the doctor plunges the *toume* into the water and the eye is cured. [755]

Tutu'ull. Tonic or remedy for a relapse in any illness. The leaves are pounded to extract the juice.

Uhi. For boils (*hagatamaki*). This remedy is used for a special type of boil (*mole fua*) which does not come to a head. The plant is mixed with oil and painted on the boil.
For stomach pains (*haga tamaki*), also for toothache and gumboils. The plant is grated or pounded.

WORDS USED IN DESCRIBING THE HUMAN BODY

826 192

Ahu: gall.
Aofinima: palm of the hand.
Aofivae: sole of the foot.
Ate: liver.
Atebili: spleen.
Ateivae: calf of the leg.
Avaiihu: nostril.
Bali: pubes.
Bito: navel.
Bule: pit of the stomach.
Bulobulaivae: ankle joint; bottom of the toes.
Ekenaki: voice.
Elelo: tongue.
Faefine: armpit.
Faimanava: stomach.
Fajitua: loins.
Fatafata: breast; chest.
Fatu: abdomen.
Fofoga: head; face (applied to chiefs).
Fogafoga: appearance; head and face.
Fulufulu: hair.
Gaajinima: finger nails.
Gaajivae: toenails.
Gakau: entrails.
Gao: double teeth.
Geejinima: finger nails.
Geejivae: toenails.
Gutu: mouth.
Halakava: beard.
Hi: semen.
Hiligaumoji: upper lip.
Hilo: anus.
Hiviivae: shin; fore part of the leg.
Huhu: breasts.
Hui: bone.
Huibalalulu: rib bone.
Huifohe: shoulder blades.
Huikouahe: cheek bone.
Ifo: taste.
Ihu: nose.
Jino: body.
Kakano: flesh.
Kalava: vein; blood vessel.
Kanoimata: eyeball.
Kanoimatauli: pupil of the eye.
Kauinima: fingers.
Kauvae: legs and feet.
Kemo: eyebrow.
Kete: belly.
Kia: neck.
Kiaivae: hollow of the leg under the knee.
Kili: skin.
Kofuua: kidneys.

78: Weiner N-4,5 (1969) 1972
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101 square miles. Nuku'alofa, with an approxi-
162 mate population of 13,000, is the largest city in Tonga and the capital (14).

II. A Review of Medical Practices in Tonga

175 A fairly detailed description of medical
114 practices in Tonga is found in *William*
177 *Mariner's Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (17, pp. 240–273). This account was related to J. Martin by William Mariner, who was shipwrecked somewhere in the archipelago in the early 1800's. The first Europeans to arrive in Tonga were missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society in 1797.

757 Martin reports that around the year 1800
[759] few plants were used in treating illness. Sickness was thought to originate from an outside force, and all remedies used by the Tongan were reasonably categorized by Martin into three groups: invocation, sacrifice, and external operations. When plant remedies were employed, they had no effect either upon the disease or the patient. Martin states that such remedies were held in "little esteem," for when the reigning king's daughter became seriously ill plant medicines were not considered (17).

752 Martin does refer, however, to the uses
278 of three plants. To reduce opthalmic inflammations, the juice of the *vi* (*Spondias dulcis*) was used. Following circumcision, the end of the penis was wrapped in the leaf of *gnata'i* (*Erythrina* spp.?). And the ulcerated sores of venereal diseases were treated with powder of turmeric from the fleshy rootstock of *Curcuma longa*.

757 Martin states that "the idea of giving
177 (plant) infusions was first taken from the natives of the Fiji Islands." The Tongan
177 also learned the practice of surgery in Fiji,
752 where constant wars afforded great opportunities for practicing this art. The three most important operations then practiced in Tonga were *cawso*, or paracentesis thoracis (drainage of fluid from the chest cavity); *tocolosi*, or an operation to cure tetanus; and *broca*, or castration.

755 Charms and amulets were not employed
[782] in ceremonies for the patient. Sacrifices were common, and horrors such as *tootoo-*

755 782 *nima* and *naucgia*, the cutting off of fingers and the strangling of children, respectively, were frequently employed when a noble lay seriously ill.

757 A story related by Martin gives insight into the attitude of one Tongan man toward disease. During an apparent conflict between a visiting Hawaiian and a Tongan, both of whom had offered to cure Mr. Mariner of "a disordered state of the stomach and bowels attended with headache and drowsiness," the Tongan laughed at the Hawaiian's infusion made of unnamed leaves and roots, which was said to be powerful enough to kill a man if taken in a large dose.

To the Tongan, the idea of curing a sick man by means that would make a healthy man sick was absurd. He offered instead to let some of Mr.Mariner's blood by scarifying his arms and legs with shells.

The Hawaiian, to prove his own faith in the plant decoction, imbibed a dose equal to that prescribed for the sick man. Mr. Mariner followed the example and was well the following morning.

757 278 Apparently, then, the use of plants in medicines must have flourished in Tonga sometime after Martin's report in 1817.

178 Today the use of plants in medicines is vanishing. There are hospitals in each of 743 the main island groups and dispensaries located in several towns. A new hospital with modern surgical facilities is near completion on Tongatapu. There are many 757 people, however, who still carry the knowledge and use plant cures, but mainly for 278 treating minor problems.

759 One revered practitioner (Uia) refers his patients to the Government Hospital or the 757 Catholic Sisters if they are suffering from what he thinks is a "European" illness. He discerns the origin of a disease by "touching the patient in the body and face" and refrains from treating illnesses that originate outside of Tonga.

757 One woman practitioner was called upon to prepare a remedy for a patient only after the woman—suffering from a serious fungal infection on her hands and arms—had visited the dispensary six times. Ointments given to this patient by the local dispensary proved ineffective. It was learned through Mumui Tatola that the six different

ointments prescribed were of an antibacterial nature. Only an antifungal antibiotic would have worked in this case. After treatment with the plant remedy (a concoction of the leaves of *Solanum uporo*, *Evodia hortensis*, and *Capsicum frutescens*), the patient reported that she was able to sleep, no longer kept awake by pain.

Collocott (7) believes that diagnosis proceeds by a series of trials with different medicines. He reports that one cure after another is tried until one is found that works, or until the patient dies. As in Fiji, different practitioners have their own special cures. For each of them the etiology of a disease is unimportant. What matters is knowing if a certain condition is one they can cure (23). Each practitioner is highly specialized and may treat illnesses associated with only one body system. Some practitioners will treat all illnesses but are specialized in that they treat only children or the aged. I did not encounter any practitioner who diagnosed a complaint through communications with the supernatural world. There is one reference in the literature, however, which indicates that there is some belief in the psychological causation of certain diseases. Churchward's dictionary of the Tongan language defines the word *sausau* as a bundle of leaves buried near a tree and believed to cause sickness to anyone taking fruit from the tree. The word *fula* is defined as a swelling caused by breaking a *tapu* (a cultural restriction), especially by eating a chief's leftover food (6).

Few plants are cultivated specifically for their medicinal value, and many useful species are found growing in villages. Most medicinal plants are collected in "the bush" or near the sea. There do not appear to be any special harvesting techniques and the leaves, bark, and roots are taken from any plant of the required species.

Most medicines are prepared in the form of infusions. Generally, a handful of the required plant part is wrapped in a clean white cloth or the stipule of *Cocos nucifera* and squeezed five or six times in a half coconut shell of fresh water. The resulting filtrate is taken usually once daily until the patient responds to treatment. In all cases where stem or root bark is used, the cork

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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deities in Pulotu. *Kau'inima* (the cutting off of fingers as a sacrifice) and even human sacrifices were often given to the gods in order to save the life of a chief. In April 1842 the Reverend John Thomas wrote to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Committee in London:

> January 10th, 1842, died Fatu, the chief of the Mua. His illness was of many weeks continuance . . . At length it was feared that he would not recover; and various means were used by Heathens, but to no purpose. On the 7th of January, a youth named Feheko, a Chief's son, about twelve years of age, was offered in sacrifice to the gods. His own father and another man strangled him; but all was in vain. (*W-M Mag.* 1843:258)

So it was that natural disaster, disease, death and famine were attributed to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of dead relatives.

Sacred houses were built in sacred places, mostly the burial places of the chiefly ancestors, where offerings and prayers were made to the gods through the medium of the priests. Because of their prestige and importance the priests received food and other gifts from the people (Watkin, Journal, 7 Feb. 1843). The sacred places were often used by wrongdoers, or those who were being pursued by a chief, as places of refuge. The most famous of these sanctuaries was that of the god Tāufa'itahi, whose priest was Kautai at Mu'a (Gifford 1929:300; Blacket 1914:121-3). The missionary, Walter Lawry, recorded in his diary (9 Dec. 1822) how Fatu, the chief with whom he stayed at Mu'a, became very angry when Lawry reported to him the danger to which he (Lawry) and his family had been exposed by 'the savage wantonness of several natives', and that 'the offenders took shelter in the Hoofanga, to beg pardon of the gods; this saved them from being killed at once'. In these sanctuaries the criminal was safe from attack, because any violation of these places was so serious a crime that a human life would have to be offered in atonement. (Martin 1827, I:190).

Pulotu was thought to be an island to the west of Tongatapu where anything mortal could not survive. The chiefs considered that the commoners had no place there. Hence commoners were

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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This lack of proper training and adequate preparation was a great handicap to Thomas and Hutchinson, as it was to their predecessor, Lawry. Their inability to understand the Tongan language caused much frustration in their relationship with the people.

Their lack of elementary or basic medical skills was also detrimental to their work. One of Ata's sons, Mataele, took ill. His relatives took him to the god called Lātūfakahau, who was once a great chief in Tonga. Thomas went to Ata and told him and his people that they were foolish in doing so. He managed to persuade them to bring Mataele to his place. He bled him and gave him a little medicine but Mataele grew worse, so Mataele turned to the heathen gods and his relatives took him to another god's house. After a few days Thomas called to see Mataele and found him much better, and he thought it likely that Mataele would recover. Although he was happy for Mataele to recover he had reasons to be greatly concerned. Ata had stated that should his son Mataele die, this would furnish proof that the Tongan gods were a lie, and he would *lotu*, but should his son recover he would maintain faith in the old gods (Thomas, Journal, 8 June 1829).

Mataele recovered, and Ata took this as proof that the gods of his fathers were true after all. From that time on, nothing could shake his faith in the Tongan gods. He bluntly refused to have anything to do with the new god of the white missionary and did everything he could to prevent his people from joining the new religion, the god of which, according to his judgment, had been proved false. In deep distress, John Thomas (Journal, 31 Jan. 1829) wrote:

> If we could cure the bodies of the people of their various diseases, it would be a great recommendation for us to the attention of the people . . . but we have neither skill nor means for this, and therefore in most cases, cannot undertake anything of the kind, lest we should do harm to the cause of Christ, by raising the expectation of the people, when we cannot satisfy them. We are obliged to therefore tell them that we did not come to cure their bodies but their souls, and our God saves not from pain and bodily afflictions but sin and hell, but as this latter subject is new to them and most of them care nothing about it, but wish to be made well here, they

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
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unrelated chiefs such as Finau but derives ceremonial status by being related to the Tu'i Tonga through his sister.

As a final example of the complexities of Tonga's interlocking ranking systems let us look at an engraving made from an illustration by Hodges on Cook's second voyage of 'The Landing at Middleburgh' (plate 1*a*).[A] We are at first a bit overwhelmed by the Greek-looking Tongans in flowing garments and European visage—reflecting certainly the European vision of the noble savage in his peaceful Utopia. Bernard Smith in his excellent discussion of this engraving (1960: 52–3) points out that it was probably Cipriani who did the figures in a Hodges landscape.[6] George Forster criticises the picture thus: 'But it is also greatly to be feared, that Mr Hodges has lost the sketches and drawings which he made from Nature in the course of the voyage, and supplied the deficiency in this case, from his own elegant ideas' (Forster 1777: I, 427).

These critics, however, seem to miss the ethnological importance of this picture, for here we have the first (and only) depicted example of finger sacrifice. If we look closely (plate 1*b*), we see that several of the individuals have parts of their little fingers missing—the Tongan practice of *to'o nima*.[7] In their accounts, the Forsters and Cook miss the real significance of the practice. Reinold Forster writes that the 'greater part of the same nation want the two first joints of one, and sometimes both the little fingers, which they cut off as marks of their grief, for deceased parents or relations' (1778: 269). Cook more cautiously tells us: 'we could not learn the cause of this mutilation with any degree of certainty, but judged it to be on account of the death of their parents' (Beaglehole 1961: 268). Anderson on the third voyage gets it almost correct—'for when they suspect themselves in danger from sickness they cut off their little finger as a propitiation to the Deity,' and that it 'is sometimes done on the illness of their chief as well as themselves' (Beaglehole 1967: 947). From later accounts, however (e.g. Martin 1818 and Gifford 1929), it is quite clear that the practice was a sacrifice within the *kāinga* by one of lower rank to cure a sickness of one of higher rank. The lowest ranking, to follow our *kāinga* ranking principles, is the mother's brother or mother's brother's children, or someone of the same kinship category. It is said that there were often arguments over who would have the honour to give the sacrifice. This sacrifice was done within the family and taken to the priest of the sick person's god. A place name in Tungua Island in the Ha'apai group is known as Tangi to'o nima, i.e., crying at finger sacrifice, and is traditionally the place where this took place on behalf of the Tamaha.

Individuals in the group who were eligible to give finger sacrifices are also in the group who cannot eat in the presence of individuals of the higher category. This group also has specific functions at funerals—where they are known as *liongi*. Whole societal lines stand in this kind of relationship to other lines. For example, Tu'i Lakepa's line stands as 'father' to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line, and all individuals of Tu'i Ha'ateiho's line must treat those of Tu'i Lakepa's line as one would treat a 'father'. Further, the Tu'i Tonga's line must treat both Tu'i Lakepa and Tu'i Ha'ateiho as one would treat a sister's child, because the Tamaha came from these lines (i.e., Fale Fisi). This situation is especially intense at the chiefly level. Cook was disappointed at the mourning ceremony he attended but his description is invaluable. His account would seem to indicate that the ceremony was not for the king's son,

A. [See End Plate 1, following p. 220--Analyst]

/247 cont./

p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs. Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them. In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)

665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief (667)

667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)